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Warsaw Pact Military Council Convenes

LD0310134189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] In Warsaw the 40th session of the Military Council of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact states has commenced. The deliberations are being chaired by Army General Pyotr Lushev, commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed forces. Before the start of the session, its participants laid wreaths on the grave of the unknown soldier and at the cemetery-mausoleum of soldiers of the Soviet Army.

CPV Delegation Attends Varna Conference

BK0110162889 Hanoi VNA in English 1603 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Text] Hanoi VNA Oct 1—A delegation of the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) led by Tran Xuan Bach, Politburo member and secretary of the CPV Central Committee, attended a conference of secretaries in charge of international relations of the communist and workers' parties of socialist countries held in Varna, Bulgaria, on Sep 26-28.

Addressing the conference, Tran Xuan Bach said: "Imperialism is pursuing a very dangerous strategy of counteroffensive. Our party holds that we must heighten our vigilance and be determined to spoil all plots of sabotage of imperalism in any form in order to safeguard the revolutionary gains of socialism and defend Marxism-Leninism on the basis of developing both in theory and practice the construction and perfection of socialism".

"In this spirit, our party and people always consistently support and defend the Soviet Union, the bastion of peace and the beacon of socialism and revolution in the world. We always stand shoulder to shoulder with the other socialist countries and the people of the world in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress", the Vietnamese head delegate stressed.

During its stay in Bulgaria, the Vietnamese party delegation held talks with a delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party head led by Milke Balev. The two sides informed each other of the situation of their respective parties and countries, and discussed measures to increase the effectiveness of their comprehensive bilateral cooperation.

Tran Xuan Bach Speaks

BK0210073989 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Speech by Tran Xuan Bach, member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee Political Bureau and secretary of the CPV Central Committee, at a conference of secretaries in charge of international relations of socialist countries's communist and workers parties, held in Varna, Bulgaria, from 26-28 September—read by announcer]

[Text] On behalf of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] delegation, I warmly welcome all the fraternal delegations and sincerely thank the Bulgarian comrades for having careated favorable conditions for this conference in Varna to be held in a beautiful and hospitable atmosphere.

Since the previous conference in Havana, the world political situation has undergone many new developments. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have, with their foreign policy of peace, put forth many initiatives and practical proposals for preventing the danger of a nuclear war, carrying out disarmament, halting the arms race, and reducing nuclear and conventional weapons and military strengths.

It is our desire to see the world situation shifting from confrontation to dialogue and from the cold war to peaceful coexistence. But winds do not let the trees stand still. The imperialist forces have misinterpreted our flexible policy as a manifestation of weakness. They have subjectively observed that communism will become extinct within the remaining years of the 20th century. They have noisily stated that by 1999, they will defeat socialism without having to resort to war. They have held that after four decades of encircling and averting communism, they now have a chance to move further toward exercising a new strategy in the nineties, namely the strategy of launching fierce counterattacks against socialist countries with the use of new tricks aimed at eliminating socialism by peaceful means.

Mankind is now at the threshold of the 21st century and is about to enter the final decade of the 20th century. The world communist and workers movement as well as the revolutionary and progressive movements throughout the world are being faced with new ordeals and great prospects.

Like people in other countries, our people wish to live in peace and stability in order to rebuild their country and their happiness. We are endeavoring to contribute to building Southeast Asia into a zone of lasting peace, stability, friendship, and cooperation. But the warlike U.S. circles have yet to give up their attempts to oppose and sabotage our country. The United States, which continues to maintain its military bases in the Philippines, has built war stockpiles in Thailand and is setting up military bases in Singapore for use as a deterrent against Vietnam and against the Southeast Asian people's revolutionary movement. U.S. military dispositions in Northeast and Southeast Asia are part of a strategic chain created by the U.S. imperialists to achieve strategic superiority in Asia and the Pacific.

Over the past 10 years and more, some imperialist and reactionary forces have capitalized on the Cambodian issue to oppose Vietnam. The three countries of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia have, with their goodwill, sought by every means to solve the Cambodian issue politically on the basis of respect for Cambodia's independence and sovereignty. Such efforts by the three

Indochinese countries led to the Jakarta informal meetings—JIM-1 and JIM-2—and the August 1989 Paris international conference. However, the U.S. Administration and some other countries and reactionary forces do not want a fair and reasonable solution to the Cambodian issue. They hope that after the complete repatriation of Vietnamese Army volunteers, the balance of forces in Cambodia will change in favor of the reactionary Khmer forces who, with military and financial aid from the United States and other reactionary forces, will step up the civil war to topple the revolutionary Cambodian state and nullify the revolutionary gains of the Cambodian people. If such a situation came to pass, what would become of Vietnam's security and stability in Southeast Asia?

The strategy for counterattacks of imperialism is extremely dangerous. Our party holds that we must uphold vigilance and be determined to foil all forms of sabotage by imperialism in an endeavor to safeguard the gains of socialism and protect Maxism-Leninism on the theoretical and practical basis of building and perfecting socialism. The experience accumulated over the years by the international communist and workers movement, as well as that gained in socialist construction, shows that dogmatism, pragmatism, and prejudices derived from narrow-mindedness, factionalism, or the lack of respect for the principle of equality weaken and damage our common cause.

Staying highly alert and undaunted in the face of the enemy's high-handed provocations while being ready for and responsive to the establishment of normal relations with any state wishing for bilateral ties, the SRV is now enjoying increasingly favorable relations with the French Republic. We always look forward to the future. We understand and symphathize with different people in the United States who want and are striving to build a new equitable and mutually beneficial relationship between the United States and Vietnam.

The Communist Party of Vietnam pledges to always remember and carry out Comrade Ho Chi Minh's last words regarding the world communist movement as follows:

As a man who has devoted all his life to the service of the revolution, the more proud I feel of the vigorous growth of the international communist and workers movement, the more deeply I grieve in my heart the current hostility between fraternal parties. My hope is that our party will act vigorously and contribute effectively to restoring solidarity between fraternal parties on the fair and reasonable basis of Marxism-Leninism. I am firmly convinced that the fraternal parties and countries will certainly have to unite.

In this spirit, our party and people unswervingly support and defend the Soviet Union, the bastion of peace and the lighthouse of socialism and world revolution. We consistently stand side by side with the socialist countries and join with the world peoples in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress.

CSSR Urges CEMA Exchange Rate Reform

AU2509124989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Sep 89 p 2

[Article by Pavel Paral in the "In Reply to a Reader's Question" column: "Tourism and Exchange Rates"]

[Text] "Considering the rate at which we exchange, in particular, forints and zlotys, prices in the neighboring socialist states are inordinately high for a tourist from Czechoslovakia," writes R. Cerny from Prague. "In the past 12 months the advancing inflation has forced Hungary, for instance, twice to devalue its currency against freely convertible currencies. Our citizen, on the other hand, still pays Kcs0.45 for a forint. Does the inflexibility of exchange rates not inflict damage upon Czechoslovak citizens and the Czechoslovak national economy?"

The problem concerns the so-called noncommercial exchange rates, which are used for the payment of goods and services in retail prices. However, payments for banking and insurance transactions, and the like, also belong to this category. The system for setting exchange rates is based on a set of intergovernmental agreements and it works so that every state purchases foreign currency for transferable rubles, that is, for the currency in which foreign trade accounts are cleared. The rate of conversion is set by first fixing the relationship of one's own currency, that is, for example, the koruna, against the Soviet ruble. According to the so-called conversion coefficient, which defines the relationship between Soviet ruble and the transferable ruble, one then ascertains how many korunas the foreign bank will get for one transferable ruble. In fixing the exchange rate, use is made of two so-called consumer goods baskets. The first of them represents the consumption by two persons during a 2-week stay abroad and its total value is approximately Kcs9,000. The second basket consists of the annual consumption of a 4-member diplomat's family. Both baskets include food items, industrial goods, and services. In determining the exchange rate on the basis of these two baskets, the "tourist basket" has a weighting of 65 percent and the "diplomatic basket" one of 35 percent. In some bilateral negotiations, only the tourist basket is considered. However, during recent bilateral negotiations on changes in the exchange rate, the level of supplies on the domestic market has played a major role.

Each change in the conversion coefficient between the Soviet ruble and the transferable ruble must be approved by all parties to the agreement, which are Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the GDR, the DPRK, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union. Later, in the interest of greater flexibility in carrying out exchange rate changes, some participants agreed on the possibility of bilaterally arranging a deviation of plus/minus 20 percent from the exchange rates

thus agreed. In other words, it is impossible to set the exchange rate unilaterally. To agree on a change within the 20-percent purview, one needs to convince one's partners. To effect larger-scale changes, one needs to negotiate with all parties to the agreement.

Bilateral negotiations are very complicated, especially in those cases when the partner has no interest in having a higher number of tourists in his country. This is the case with Hungary, for instance, which has a trade surplus with most socialist countries. A further influx of transferable rubles from tourism would thus only increase the unwanted foreign trade surplus in inconvertible currencies. This is the reason why, despite the evident disharmony between prices in our country and in Hungary, the exchange rates have not been adjusted and our tourist finds things on the other side of the Danube expensive. In spite of this fact, interest in travel to the Hungarian People's Republic and, by the same token, demand for forints show no signs of subsiding.

The Polish currency bodies, on the other hand, are aware of the impact of inflation on tourism and are lowering the value of their currency against the Soviet ruble. Under the aforesaid agreement, this finds its reflection in the exchange rates against the other currencies of socialist countries. During bilateral negotiations, too, Poland concedes to some currencies, including our koruna, the highest possible deviation of 20 percent. Even so, these adjustments do not keep up with the pace of inflation.

The aforesaid system has been in operation for 20 years and in this period it has been able to meet the demands placed on the currency mechanism in the sphere of noncommercial payments. At present, however, it no longer conforms with the requirements because it is not sufficiently flexible. Starting this year, the Standing Commission for Currency and Financial Questions has therefore been negotiating, on Czechoslovak initiative, a radical reform of the system. The reform's main feature is the consolidation [sjednoceni] of the commercial and noncommercial exchange rates and the setting of each national currency's exchange rate directly against the transferable ruble. This would also obviate the need to negotiate every change with the partner state.

However, this reform is conditional on a number of prerequisites, especially on the ratios of wholesale prices in CEMA member countries moving closer together and on their linking up with world prices. At the same time it is necessary that the ratios of retail prices in individual countries do not differ too much either. Last but not least, it is necessary to create a balance on individual internal markets. With the creation of these conditions, the currency-financial relations in CEMA would get to a qualitatively completely new level, a level corresponding to the requirements of restructuring, and the decisive step toward the mutual convertibility of CEMA currencies would be made.

CEMA Data Processing Group Session Begins

AU2809163489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] A session of the CEMA Standing Working Group for the Automatic Processing of Statistical Information began in Prague on Tuesday [26 September]. Its participants will concentrate, first and foremost, on implementing the use of microcomputers in statistics and in the automatic collection and processing of statistical information.

Russian 'Chauvinism' in Baltic Republics Viewed

AU2509130289 Tirana ATA in English 1005 GMT 25 Sep 89

["The False Victims and Real Ones"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, September 25 (ATA)—Under the above title the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT carries a writing of the reporter Shaban Murati on the creation of some associations in the Baltic republics of the Soviet Union, which have organised strikes, nationalist manifestations and protests under the pretext of linguistic, cultural, and economic discriminatton of the Russians residing in these republics. The aim, the author underlines, is the undertaking of a wide-range campaign on a district scale to present the Russians residing in these republics as victims of the pressures and threats exercised by the populations residing there. Further on the author writes that these associations "of defending the Russians" in the non-Russian republics, are created precisely in those republics where the peoples have risen against the incorrect national policy exercised by the Soviet revisionist leaderships. Naturally, such an enhancement of national consciousness of the peoples of the empire's periphery is not to the liking of the Soviet leadership, which seeks and practiced forms and methods that would allow the continuity and the right of its full control over the other peoples. One of these forms is also the creation of Russian associations residing in these republics and their presentation as "victims of pressures and threats" by the non-Russian peoples. Moscow seeks to counterpose the just demands and protests for national equality of the peoples of these republics, through the protests and demands of the Russian settlers there. It seeks to exploit the nationalist associations of the "threatened" Russians as a means of pressure against the peoples in these republics, to force them give up the demands for national equality and identity.

Further on the author writes that the newspaper PRAVDA has described the Moldavians' demands as "attempts to sow the seed of separatism and nationalism." It is common knowledge that with the terms "separatism and nationalism" the chauvinists always attack every effort of the smaller people for national equality and identity.

In conclusion the author stresses that such associations of the "threatened" Russians are an instrument of the Big Russian hegemonism and chauvinism. Moscow needs them also as a possible pretext for future interference in the name of "defending the threatened Russians."

Economic Delegation Returns From FRG

AU0410125389 Tirana ATA in English 0957 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Tirana, October 4 (ATA)—The Albanian Government economic delegation, led by the minister under the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, Farudin Hoxha, returned home.

He was welcomed at the airport by the minister of food industry, Jovan Bardhi; head of department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Andon Berxholi, etc.

Present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the FR [Federal Republic] of Germany in Tirana, Friedrich Kroneck.

Over its stay in the FR of Germany, the minister under the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, Farudin Hoxha was received by the federal minister of the economy of the FR of Germany, Dr Helmut Haussmann.

In the course of the meeting, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, they talked on the realization of the agreements on the economic, industrial, and technical cooperation and on the further possible development of the relations and mutual cooperation between the two countries in the field of economy. He was received also by the secretary of state at the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation, Dr Siegfried Lengl.

Present in these meetings was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania in the FR of Germany, Shpetim Caushi.

Foreign Trade Minister Receives Greek Official

AU0410124989 Tirana ATA in English 0945 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Tirana, October 4 (ATA)—In the course of his stay to our country, the general secretary for Ipeiros, Evyienios Kharitidhis, went to the cities of Sarande, Berat, Kruje and Tirana, where he visited different socio-cultural centers and institutions.

In Tirana he was received by Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade, with whom he exchanged views on the extension of trade relations between our country and Greece, particularly with the border areas. Likewise, the general secretary for Ipiros was received by the chairman of the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations with Foreign Countries, Jorgo Melica, with whom he talked on the possibilities of cultural exchanges on the basis of the agreements signed between our two countries. He was also received by the chairman of the Executive Committee of the No 3 Region of Tirana, Leandro Zoto, who acquainted the Greek friend with the socioeconomic development of this city.

The friend from Greece left our country.

Returned Muslims Criticize 'Pan-Turkism'

AU0410083189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Sep 89 pp 1,2

["Appeal of the Participants in the 'Bulgaria—Our Motherland, Destiny, and Future' Meeting"]

[Text] Comrades: People who came from all parts of Bulgaria, and who have experienced a sublime moment in their life, are addressing you.

For a long time we were the object of insistent and sinister Turkish propaganda. Through the "Voice of Turkey" and through other means, it was suggested to us that, since we are connected with Islam, Turkey is our motherland; that this motherland is expecting us with open arms; and that it will accept everyone who wishes to enter its "paradise." Attempts were made to inspire us with Turkish nationalism and religious fanaticism. Many people withstood the pressure and did not succumb. Others experienced difficult months of hesitation and division. Yet others succumbed to the false promises, abandoned their homes and motherland, turned their back on relatives, neighbors, and colleagues, and headed toward the unknown.

However, the moment of truth has come. After luring thousands of people and thus creating tension and insecurity, Turkey closed the borders.

Many families remained separated, but the Turkish authorities are creating more difficulties for those who wish to travel—both from Bulgaria to Turkey, and back from Turkey to the motherland.

We have gathered to say our word and to let it resound in all parts of our motherland, Bulgaria, and throughout the world.

We are free people, citizens of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and an integral part of the Bulgarian people. Having undergone various tests, now we value even more strongly our kin and our motherland, our home and work, social justice and security. Socialist Bulgaria guarantees all this. It is our motherland. It is here that we can create our happiness through honest work, free of any exploitation.

We appeal to the Turkish leaders:

We do not want to be pawns in the hands of pan-Turkism, Turkish nationalism, and your dirty political games. Everybody understands that you have sown intrigues and hoped to harvest deceitful crops. However, the people have been sobered. They have seen the "paradise" you promised, the desert lands of Anatolia; the tent camps; a piece of stale bread; and dozens of barriers—political ethnic, social, and border. Those who believed your words and came, turned out to be "infidels," and sank in humiliation as unwanted foreigners, unable to shelter and feed their families and save them from troubles and misfortunes.

You are responsible for those human tragedies.

Stop interfering with our lives! Stop interfering in the internal affairs of our socialist motherland Bulgaria! Stop staging political farces for the ignorant.

We also appeal to those who are not familiar with the contradictory and tragic history of our people and land:

The Bulgarian people are wise and virtuous. Alone, they can find the most correct solutions. Do not offend us with hasty conclusions and assessments and arrogant and pretentious sermons and recipes. We have experienced difficult hours and days of our destiny, and more than ever we can say that our prosperity, happiness, and future are solely related to our motherland, Bulgaria. The factors that cement our society are hundreds of times stronger than those factors which the forces across the border hope will divide and destabilize our society.

We appeal to those compatriots of ours, our brothers and sisters, who still cannot open their eyes to the truth and who are afraid to admit their delusions: Wake up!

Do not repeat the mistakes which have made thousands of people sorry. Listen to the voice of sense and believe the bitter experience. Do not succumb to suggestions from outside, and thus you will not become the next victims of the pitiless political game of the present Turkish leaders.

Think also about the fact that you undeservedly offended your people, the land that brought you into the world, and the state whose full-fledged citizens you are.

We appeal to the National Assembly and to all other organs on whom our country's present and future depend:

Do everything possible to move the Turkish leading circles to stop the psychological pressure and propaganda war they are waging against our motherland. We know what is concealed behind the hypocritical expressions of concern that come from abroad. Our people have not desired or sought this concern. We reject the attempts of foreign forces to mingle their dirty fingers in our destiny.

We see that our competent state institutions and public organizations are making efforts to alleviate the fate of those Bulgarian citizens who have fallen into disgrace in Turkey. We believe that this will produce results.

We think that the world public can do much to condemn Turkey's pan-Turkish policy and irresponsible actions.

Bring our appeal to the attention of international organizations, committees, and all those who intercede for the principles of humanity and human rights. Thus, goodness and justice will triumph.

We also address a warm appeal to the mass media and ask them to participate even more actively in unmasking the hypocrisy of Ankara and its assistants.

We appeal to all our compatriots and state that we are ready to invest real deeds in implementing the unity of the Bulgarian people and the revolutionary restructuring in all spheres of life in our dear motherland—the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Mladenov Meets Counterparts in New York

AU0210165089 Sofia BTA in English 1524 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] New York, October 2 (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, who attends the 44th session of the UN General Assembly, conferred with Mr Yeoryios Iakovou, minister of foreign affairs of Cyprus. They discussed a wide range of bilateral concerns, commended highly Bulgarian-Cypriot relations and considered ways for their further promotion. The sides surveyed the situation in the Balkans and stressed the two countries' desire to persevere in their efforts towards the assertion of peace, good-neighbourliness and cooperation in the region. The Bulgarian foreign minister reaffirmed his country's principled and consistent policy in favour of a just and durable settlement of the Cyprus problem. The two chief diplomats declared themselves in favour of a continued inter-communal dialogue under UN auspices. Concern was voiced over the possibility of part of the Bulgarian citizens travelling to Turkey being settled in Cyprus.

Mr Petur Mladenov had a meeting with Mr Paul Kawanga Ssemogerere, minister of foreign affairs of Uganda. They found that their governments share a desire for more active contacts and identified specific forms for the promotion of mutually advantageous economic, commercial and cultural cooperation. It was emphasized that there are no differences in the two countries' stands on pressing international issues. Particular attention was paid to the problems of Southern Africa. Mr Petur Mladenov familiarized his counterpart with Bulgaria's constructive approaches and actions for the strengthening of Balkan and European security, understanding and cooperation.

Mr Petur Mladenov met with Mr Kang Sok-chu, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. It was noted with satisfaction that the two countries pursue successfully their relations. An emphasis was laid on the importance of the personal contacts between Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Kim Il-song for the consolidation of the friendship and cooperation between the two friendly peoples. A readiness was expressed for wider contacts in various fields. Mr Kang Sok-chu briefed the Bulgarian foreign minister on the DPRK's efforts towards the country's democratic reunification and thanked for Bulgaria's support to this cause at international forums. Mr Petur Mladenov assured the DPRK first deputy foreign minister that his country will keep supporting the just cause of the Korean people.

New Cooperation Planned With Macedonia

AU0410095389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Sep 89 p 4

[Article by Boris Gergov: "Models for Long-Term Cooperation"]

[Excerpts] Economic cooperation between neighboring countries can produce greater benefits than cooperation with distant ones. Both for us and for other states, age-old practice has proven the advantages of mutual trade. The examples are numerous, and the resulting balance sheets mutually acceptable. However, conditions change. As well as trade exchange, the world has made great progress with the progressive forms of long-term cooperation. Why should we not follow this good example: This was the issue that brought economists from Bulgaria and the Socialist Republic of Macedonia together for discussions in Sofia last week. [passage omitted]

The present level of cooperation is not satisfactory—this was also stated by the partners, who had hardly any language problems in communicating with each other in the discussion about the new forms of economic cooperation. It is true that goods exchange plays a dominant role, increasing by almost 54.5 percent last year, but this activity is not appropriate for the modern economy. We have failed to develop industrial production sharing, specialization, construction of joint enterprises, licensing activity, and participation in duty-free customs zones. These are not forms that the participants in the discussion had to invent, but forms that already exist in many countries, forms that can increase the effectiveness of the companies' joint economic activity. Favorable legal conditions are also available for investments in Bulgaria, which make it attractive for foreign companies to participate in consortia.

Breakthroughs have already been made in this direction. Boris Marekov, chairman of the administrative council of the "Balkanavto" Consortium and general director of the "Mototekhnika" Company, told me: "We have formed a consortium of Bulgarian producers for cooperation with Yugoslav organizations, including 'Javor' from the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. The positive changes in the two countries' economies lie at the basis of the cooperation agreement we signed. The forms of cooperation are long-term production sharing, for the production in Bulgaria of assemblies, components, and units for the 'Zastava' automobile and for the import of cars of this make into Bulgaria. The consortium is open to all producers in both countries." [passage omitted]

The adoption of the new forms of cooperation is a matter that lies in the hands of the companies. They must be aggressive, and they must forcefully apply new ideas. An example of this is the discussions between "Khimimport" and "Ofis." Since 1985, the cooperation between them has grown from mutual trading into long-term production sharing, which is being carried out through the companies of "Neftokhim," "Verila," "Gavril Genov," "Yambolen," "Plastkhim," and others. The

financial scale of the production sharing has increased from $11 million in 1986 to $24 million in the first 7 months of this year alone. [passage omitted]

By combining the scientific, technical, and production potential of the two countries' enterprises, successful breakthroughs can be made into third-country markets with highly competitive products. A progressive step of this kind has already been made by the "Metal-Cutting Machines Plant" in Sofia and the "Tito Metal Plants" in Skopje. Work is in progress on setting up a joint company to manufacture machine tools. The components will be fabricated in Sofia and Skopje, and the products will be assembled in one of the plants in the border region between Bulgaria and the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. The machine tools are intended mainly for export to Western markets, where marketing work has also been carried out. An immense number of enquiries have been received, which gives the producers hope for great success. [passage omitted]

Chief Prosecutor Recommends New Penal Code

AU0410142889 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No. 40, 2 Oct 89 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Vasil Mruchkov, "chief prosecutor of the People's Republic of Bulgaria," by Chavdar Krumov, POGLED correspondent: "Illegal Means Inhuman"—date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Krumov] What changes does our legal system need?

[Mruchkov] Our entire legislation needs essential restructuring to translate into the language of law the profound transformations conducted in our society in accordance with the party's July Concept. A part of the restructuring already is a fact. This applies to the Election Law, the Law on Bulgarian Citizenship, and the Law on Foreign Travel Passports. The Criminal Code was also changed, a new administrative division of the country was introduced, and so forth. Decrees related to our economic and agricultural activity have been adopted. Thus, the reform of our legislation has already begun. However, what must be done is much more than what has been done until now. Property relations require a new regulation. We must review the Law on Citizens' Property with a new and fresh approach. Essentially, we need a new Penal Code. The Penal-Procedural Code also requires changes. The changes must follow the line of simplifying the penal procedure, however, without diminishing the guarantees for defending the social interests and the interests of the defendants, those who have suffered damage, and the citizens. The Chief Prosecutor Office Law, our basic structural law, also requires changes. They must be conducted simultaneously with the changes in the Law on Courts' Structure. However, it is the Constitution that requires a change first.

[Krumov] Do you justify the rapid changes in the laws and the local and departmental legislation, and how do you react to those processes?

[Mruchkov] Recently the so-called "legislation by decree" i.e., changes in many and important legal issues by State Council decrees, is developing dynamically. The normal order requires that this be done by a law. This is what the Constitution and the Law on normative Acts require. In addition, the changes are being prepared within unusually brief periods of time. This fact conceals serious risks for the quality of the new legal order that is being created, and essentially leads toward decreasing the role of the National Assembly as the only legislative organ in our state.

On the other hand, the departmental and local legislation, and generally, legislation outside the normal legal order, continue to expand and develop, despite the categorical political decisions on this matter. The issue is not only the very existence of normative acts outside the normal legal order. Under conditions of the present dynamic development of social relations the legal system cannot exist without them, because many new issues are emerging, and they require specific and urgent resolution. The problem is in the excessive development of local and departmental legislation and in the contradiction between certain normal acts adopted outside the normal legal order and the existing laws. This fact undermines the prestige and superiority of the law, creates contradictions in the legal system, and diminishes its regulating influence in establishing law and order in social management. In addition, this slows down the construction of the law-governed state—one of the basic tasks of restructuring in the spirit of the July Concept.

The efforts of the Chief Prosecutor Office follow two directions in this aspect: First—to ensure the participation of the Chief Prosecutor Office in the preparation of legal changes in the government and in the State Council's Legislation Council. However, even those organs, especially during the last period of time, are working too quickly, and this does not allow profound analysis of the proposed resolutions.

Second—to react along the line of public supervision through prosecutor's acts—protests, proposals against illegal resolutions, codes, and instructions, or separate regulations issued by leaders of ministries, departments, economic organizations, companies, and people's councils. What has been done in this context is insufficient, especially against the background of the results that have been achieved, and our insistence to fully act upon our proposals and protests. [passage omitted]

Plovdiv Technical Fair Deemed Successful

AU0410145489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Oct 89 p 2

[Text] Plovdiv, 1 October (BTA)—This year's technical fair was a watershed regarding the active presence of our producers. It can be said that the stars in the exhibition city were the companies. The Bulgarian producers clearly demonstrated the strong link between electronics and machine building and the orientation of production toward modern technologies. Without overlooking the

technological lag of leading countries in certain directions, one notes a lasting trend toward shortening the distance through technological and technical renewal.

The fact that this year 200 more foreign companies participated in the technical fair than last year demonstrates that Bulgaria has established a strong position as a stable partner. The new economic conditions have naturally and inevitably led to a heightening of other countries' interest in deepening cooperation. The representatives of leading companies expressed this interest with pronounced respect and trust in their talks with our business circles. In the course of the fair over 30 meetings were held at minister and deputy minister level, during which trade and economic questions were examined in-depth in the atmosphere of the new political and economic climate. This was dictated on our side by the realization that in the conditions of the company-based organization it is absolutely necessary to orient oneself toward world markets.

For the first time in Bulgaria, a step was made toward forming an economic grouping of companies from different branches—ranging from perfumery and sportswear to electronics. The consortium for promoting and coordinating our cooperation with Japanese companies not only reveals possibilities for flexibility and business efficiency in this field but is also definitely attracting attention from our Japanese partners. At the same time, the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, which acts as coordinator for the consortium, obtained the opportunity to add new content to its activities.

The changing conditions of the international market prompted the extremely timely scientific and practical conference of our business circles in connection with preparing our economy for the unified EEC internal market that is coming after 1992. As far as market relationships within the CEMA framework are concerned, for the first time an experiment was conducted in free-market negotiating and a socialist exchange market in the intertrading organized by "Khimsnab" and "Vneshpromtekhobmen."

Bearing in mind the sizes of the deals concluded and the pronounced interest shown by foreign exhibitors and adding the organizational and trading experience gained by our companies, we can say that the fair undoubtedly provided great benefits. However, the extent to which we manage to hold our partners' interest will depend on the organizational work that will be carried out before following fairs, both on structurally improving company-based activity and on foreign trade links. The spare capacities in this respect are immense.

'Second Wave' of GDR Refugees Depart for FRG

10,000 in FRG Embassy

LD0410165389 Prague CTK in English 1543 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Prague Oct 4 (CTK)—Over 10,000 GDR citizens were estimated to be inside the building of the FRG Embassy, in its garden and the street leading to it at midday today.

The situation has not changed since last night when, apart from mothers and small children who spent the night in the embassy building, several hundred, mostly young, people spent Tuesday night in front of the embassy and its vicinity.

Members of the FRG Red Cross Society disribute food and drinks imported from the FRG and provide necessary medical care. At their request, they were joined today by 17 health workers from the Czechoslovakia Red Cross Society. The Czechoslovak Red Cross supplied also sanitary towels and napkins within the framework of humanitarian aid.

Situation Caused by 'Chauvinism'

LD0410200589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] A meeting with journalists took place at the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry this afternoon during which ministry officials briefed them on the situation at the FRG Embassy where GDR citizens are illegally staying.

Petr Nemec reports.

[Nemec] The number of GDR citizens staying at the FRG Embassy can only be roughly assessed—about 7,000 people, Nevertheless, our authorities believe that a further 3,000 to 4,000 GDR citizens are in the vicinity of the embassy or elsewhere in Prague. As far as the Czechoslovak role in solving the situation is concerned, the CSSR has strictly adhered to the letter and spirit of international law and respected the sovereignty of all the countries concerned, especially in view of the fact that this issue has to be tackled, above all, by the two German states.

The humanitarian aid—medical services and medicines—was supplied as needed and representatives of the Red Cross of both countries have held talks.

Understandably, the solution, in which the government of our republic also participated, does not guarantee that the situation will not be repeated, if only because the FRG continues to disregard the state sovereignty of the GDR and is not honoring the agreement to close the embassy building, and, last but not least, because the campaign led in the FRG mass media, aimed at destabilizing the GDR, is continuing. The atmosphere of chauvinism and pan-Germanism is poisoning relations in Europe.

Refugees 'Allowed To Leave'

LD0410213389 Prague CTK in English 2004 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Prague Oct 4 (CTK)—First groups of GDR citizens left by bus at 15.30 GMT today for a Prague railway station to get on GDR trains going to West Germany via GDR territory. The first train with more than 900 passengers left after 17.00 GMT. The overall number of GDR citizens leaving for the FRG today is estimated at 10,000.

More than 1,000 cars left empty on Prague are being towed away to car-parks in the suburbs to be handed over to GDR representatives later on.

After intensive talks between the GDR, the FRG and Czechoslovakia, the GDR citizens staying unlawfully at the West German Embassy in Prague were allowed to leave for the FRG.

First Four Trains Leave

LD0410212489 Hamburg DPA in German 2028 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Prague/Munich/Mainz (DPA)—The first four trains, each with around 1,000 GDR refugees on board, left Prague this evening. According to the Bundesbahn's Central Traffic Directorate in Mainz, they left the Czech capital's train station at 1820, 1925, 2015, and 2110. So far the Reichsbahn directorate in East Berlin has not confirmed a single departure, it was said in Mainz. Nor has the GDR's Reichsbahn given any information on the route through the GDR—either via Dresden or Bad Brambach.

The doors of the GDR'S Reichsbahn's 10 special trains, by which the around 11,000 GDR refugees are to be taken to the Bavarian border town of Hof during the night, are locked. apparently This is to prevent more people wanting to escape by jumping on the trains during their journey through the GDR. The doors are locked with right-angled keys and they can only be opened from outside, the Bavarian police said in response to an enquiry. The Bavarian Red Cross in Hof has the equipment to let the refugees out.

According to information from Mainz the Bundesbahn is reckoning on the first trains being ready to travel on from Hof after completing border formalities at around 0200. The first train is to travel on to Ahrweiler in Rhineland-Palatinate, the second to Alsfeld in Hesse, the third to Bruchsal in Baden-Wuerttenberg, and the fourth to Buechen, Ratzeburg, and Luebek in Schleswig Holstein.

The fourth train with 1,000 more GDR refugees reached the Hof station late. The Federal Railways spoke of difficulties with the points setting. According to official figures, 2,784 people were in the first three trains. a total of Eight trains are expected. The last train left Prague at 01.35 [0035 gmt]. The eighth and last train is due to arrive in Hof at 10.06 [0906 gmt]. But delays must be expected.

Officials in Hof this morning believe that only 6,000 - 7,000 GDR refugees are coming from Prague. Originally that number was thought to be between 10,000 to 12,000. The trains seat around 800.

The fifth train arrived at the station at 0820 [0720 GMT]. The refugees reported that officials of the GDR state security service had taken their papers away during the journey. All trains were accompanied by employees of the Prague embassy. [passage omitted]

A 41-year-old CSSR citizen used the mass exodus to escape from Czechoslovakia. According to the police in Hof, the man smuggled himself into a bus that was taking the GDR citizens from the embassy to the station. The 41-year-old said: "Now I must stay in a sanatorium for 5 years, it was so exciting."

Exodus To End 5 Oct

LD0410213789 Prague CTK in English 2051 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Prague Oct 4 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak railways state enterprise has created necessary prerequisites for the extraordinary transport of GDR citizens to West Germany including engines and their crews.

The railwaymen also had to cope with the fact that the extraordinary trains obstructed the daily time-table of both passenger and freight transport.

Transport of GDR citizens is expected to be finished on Thursday afternoon.

More Refugees in Embassy

LD0510085689 Hamburg DPA in German 0838 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Prague (DPA)—Only a few hours after the second great wave of emigration by GDR citizens from Bonn's embassy in Prague, the FRG mission in the Czechoslovak capital is again clearly accessible to GDR refugees. It was said that 30-40 GDR citizens are in the mission.

It is unclear where the around 1,000 GDR refugees are, who are said to have decided to accept the so-called Vogel solution, it was said in Prague. They were said to have been among the several thousand people wishing to emigrate who were due to leave the CSSR by train on Wednesday in the direction of the Federal Republic.

Press Views Situation at Prague FRG Embassy

AU0410132689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Oct 89 p 7

[Michal Kuzmiak commentary: "Whose Game Is It?"]

[Text] In the last few days and hours, our republic has occupied a prominent place in the reports of all world agencies and the European media. The reason was the illegal stay of a few thousand GDR citizens at the FRG Embassy in Prague who, on the basis of an agreement between the two German states, left CSSR territory Saturday night [30 September] for the FRG, via the GDR.

At first sight, the problem has been removed. The aforesaid agreement crowned the diplomatic efforts to achieve a rapid solution to the abnormal situation. Only at first sight, however, because only a few hours after the agreement was achieved, more GDR citizens were let into the compounds of the FRG's diplomatic mission in Prague. This has been explained as a "humanitarian gesture." By now, over 1,000 of them are staying there again. At the same time, the people concerned are no refugees or down-and-outs but tourists, most of whom had driven up to the FRG mission in Prague in their own passenger cars, with a single aim—to get inside and, thereafter, to the FRG. In view of this, the aforesaid "humanitarian gesture" looks highly hypocritical—as an evident pretext to circumvent the Vienna convention of 1961, which does not allow diplomatic missions to misuse the exterritorial status of their premises. In this connection one has to ask who it is that provokes the dramatic departure of GDR citizens to the FRG precisely on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR as a sovereign state, and what aims he pursues by it.

It is clear that FRG television, too, has played its role. It has been waging a broad-based, systematically targeted campaign to instigate GDR citizens to leave their country and thereby to become, willy nilly, pawns in a game started by revanchist circles in the FRG which strive for the reunification of Germany in the borders of the "Reich of 1937." Regrettably, some FRG Government representatives have been lending an ear to their Bismarckian, pan-Germanic aspirations.

Those political forces that have been constantly dusting off the FRG Constitution article on the so-called obligation to protect all Germans and the ruling of the FRG Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe of 31 July 1973 obliging West German constitutional bodies to strive for the reunification of Germany as a political goal and those that refuse to accept the reality of present-day Europe in which two independent, sovereign German states have coexisted for 40 years are already trying to make political capital out of the present situation.

The actual aims of these circles are documented, for example, by a statement of the Parliamentary State Secretary in the Ministry for Inner-German Relations Hennig. Addressing the Upper Silesian Day at Annaberg on 6 August, he said: "We are thinking about a solution to the German question, which has been historically, legally, and politically open since 1945.... We want the current dynamic process in Europe to result in a comprehensive European peace order, in which the entire German nation would regain unity in free self- determination."

The FRG representative offices in other countries, and at present particularly the one in Prague, are also playing their role in this game today.

Realistically minded politicians both in the East and in the West realize, however, the danger which such considerations pose to peace in Europe. It was by no coincidence that in its editorial of 20 August the British paper THE GUARDIAN, which can by no means be suspected of harboring sympathy for socialism, stressed that "theoretically, the majority of EC governments welcome as a remote goal the reunification of Germany on the basis of a free, democratic decision by the people of the two German states. In practice, however, a shiver runs down the spine of most Europeans on the very mention of such a prospect."

Czechoslovakia has respected the GDR as a tested and reliable neighbor, partner, and ally since its founding in 1949. This is also why it condemns the campaign directed against this sovereign state and expresses its full support for it.

The Czechoslovak state authorities have exerted maximum effort to bring about a humanitarian solution to the situation [at the FRG Embassy in Prague] in tune with the international commitments of our republic. It is impossible, however, not to take into account the concerns of our citizens over what has been going on around the FRG mission in Prague in the past weeks and for which it continues to be misused.

GDR Envoy Holds Anniversary Reception in Prague

LD0510011189 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] GDR Ambassador in the CSSR Helmut Ziebart gave a reception in Prague today on the National Day of his country, the GDR's 40th anniversary.

He was congratulated by Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec, and other members of the party central committee Presidium: Jan Fojtik, Karel Hoffmann, Ivan Knotek, Jozef Lenart, Frantisek Pitra, and Karel Urbanek; Josef Haman, candidate member of the party Central Committee Presidium, Jaroslav Hajn, chairman of the party Central Control and Audit Commission and other representatives. Also present were the members of the Prague Diplomatic Corps.

Situation at Polish Border Calming Down

AU0410151289

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 2 October on page 2 carries a 500-word Josef Till report entitled "Blemish on a Calm Night." The report deals with the normalization of the situation at the Czechoslovak-Polish railroad border crossing at Petrovice, after an agreement between Czechoslovak and Polish railroad authorities went into force on 30 September, whereby all travelers on international express trains arriving from Poland must have a reserved seat. Till says that in the night of 30 September and on 1 October all express trains and normal passenger trains coming from Poland passed the Petrovice station "without needless complications" and "frictions." According to Till, the only "blemish" on an otherwise "calm" night was the Katowice-Bohumin express train, which included passengers "whose papers were not in order. Naturally, they had to disembark from the train and take the first connection back home. This concerned around 300 'tourists.'

"Offensive words addressed to members of Czechoslovak agencies began to shoot forth from the dissatisfied crowd, whose vision of easy profit at the Ostrava flea market began to dissolve in the cold and rainy weather—as if it was the members of Czechoslovak agencies who arrived at the border crossing with forged invitations or with merchandise destined for speculation."

Czechoslovak Citizens Arrested in Poland

AU2509124089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Sep 89 p 7

["pm"-signed Warsaw dispatch: "With Weapons in Hand"]

[Text] Warsaw (from our correspondent)—A spokesman for the Polish General Prosecutor's Office announced that four Czechoslovak citizens from Kosice are suspected of having carried out assaults on Pevex foreign exchange shops (analogous to our Tuzex shops) in Krakow on 20 June and in Szczecin on 3 August. They are accused of having threatened the shops' staff with firearms and of having seized foreign exchange worth $3,300. The suspects have been detained and are being interrogated by the prosecutor's office of Krakow Voivodship.

Jakes Receives Guyana Progressive Party Leader

AU0210140389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Sep 89 p 1

[CTK report: "On the Possibilities For Mutual Czechoslovak- Guyanese Collaboration"]

[Text] Prague—On Friday [29 September] in Prague Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, received Cheddi Bharat Jagan, general secretary of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana, who is in the CSSR for a short working visit at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee.

In a comradely discussion, both representatives appraised the contemporary level of relations between the CPCZ and the People's Progressive Party, and they expressed their bilateral interest in developing them.

M. Jakes acquainted his guest with the main tasks which the CPCZ is dealing with in connection with the preparations for the party's 18th congress.

He outlined its policy in implementing economic reforms, in intensifying socialist democracy, and in increasing the flow of public information. He spoke about the importance of the growing tasks of the National Front and its organizations, as well as the importance of the national committees' tasks in our country's political and social life.

Cheddi Bharat Jagan welcomed the opportunity to exchange opinions on topical issues concerning cooperation between the CPCZ and the People's Progressive Party. He briefed his host on the internal political situation in Guyana and on his party's struggle against the worsening social conditions facing broad sectors of the working people.

While considering the situation in the international communist movement, Milos Jakes and Cheddi Bharat Jagan expressed their support for increasing collaboration and for expanding the mutual flow of information among communist, workers', and leftist parties and progressive movements. They briefed each other on the topical development of the situation in Europe and on the American continent.

Commentator Sees Czechs as Victims of Apartheid

AU0410134889 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 30 Sep 89 p 2

[Marta Prokesova commentary: "Grandma, If You Only Knew"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] "For Whites Only!" How many times have I recently felt like a member of the indigenous population in his own homeland? We are divided into blacks—that is, those who do not possess foreign currency—and the rest, whites. I, being a member of the indigenous population, am denied access to the casinos in Prague and Karlovy Vary, must not shop in Tuzex shops without Tuzex vouchers, cannot just pack my suitcase and go abroad on vacation....

You would have probably thrown up your hands, grandma, had you read in the Wednesday [27 September] issue of MLADA FRONTA about prostitutes in Plzen who, for a few German marks, crawl into Turkish trucks. But the situation in Prague is even worse. I, too, felt strange when, while on business, I stopped in a bar on Wenceslas Square some time ago and saw scores of girls, quite normal girls and students, sitting there, girls who only want a leather jacket or a few German marks to be able to travel. In large numbers they were greedily waiting for the arrival of any foreigner. Just as greedy are: the men in leather jackets, always the same, who wait in front of the Cedok office on Panska Street where foreigners inquire about accommodation: "Do you need a cheap place to stay?" Just as greedy are: our currency dealers who pester foreigners at their every step: "Do you want to change money?" And just as greedy are unreal crowds of people who stare at "Western" motorcycles, like visiting Martians.

What can you do, grandma, we are the indigenous population in our homeland. On Thursday [28 September] we wrote about our inability to build the highway network. Western firms would build it for us, but another piece of our country would be labeled "No Blacks Admitted!" Marx had discovered the relationship between the material base, that is, the economy, and the superstructure, which also includes social awareness and morals. Therefore, as long as the koruna will have to respectfully bow to hard currencies, so the owners of our currency will have to lower themselves before foreigners. You need not fear for me, grandma. I am still a woman of virtue, as you used to say. Even though, at times, I have my doubts whether it is not stupidity, rather than virtue, because for service rendered to a foreigner a girl gets around 200 German marks. You cannot get a German mark for less than Kcs25 today. Even after delivering their share to all those who feed on prostitution, for a single evening she thus keeps about as much as I make in my job in a month. And, moreover, the "No Blacks Admitted" signs do not apply to her. [passage omitted]

Dubcek Emphasizes Need for Reform

AU0310222289 Vienna Television Service in German 2007 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Otto Hoermann report on interview with former CSSR leader Alexander Dubcek in Bratislava—recorded; date not given; Dubcek statements in Czech with superimposed German translation]

[Excerpts] To Dubcek, the rehabilitation of the Prague Spring and of his own person are the key to reform in the CSSR. What course is your country to take in the future?

[Dubcek] I think that the longer the leadership in Prague insists on its standpoint, the more it will be isolated in the public view. It then has to force the people to obey, which has not brought about a solution anywhere in the long run. Only dialogue with all those holding different opinions can bring about restructuring by the people in the CSSR.

What is taking place here today is not restructuring, because actions are taken only in the economic sector, and even there they are not consistent. Comprehensive change without restructuring in the political sector is impossible. The problems here are not in the economic field, but in the political one. One has to start with politics, and then prepare for solving economic problems.

Sooner or later the leadership will have to revise the documents containing the official version of the events in 1968. If this does happen, it will lead to confrontation with society. The kind of restructuring that is talked about in the CSSR today does not yield the results our people want. First of all, everything has to open up like it is in the USSR.

[Hoermann] [passage omitted] Hungary and Poland have taken steps toward condemning the 1968 intervention in the CSSR. These countries go far beyond your reform program, toward a multiparty system. Is the

Communist Dubcek concerned about the fate of the communist parties in these countries?

[Dubcek] I would like to point out on the basis of facts that times have changed. The political course that believes that the working people will support the Communist Party forever is wrong. The Communists have set down in the Constitution that their party is the leading power, but this no longer means anything today. The Communists need attractive ideas that fascinate the entire people. In Poland and Hungary the Communists are trying to regain the confidence of the people. This is positive, even though it will not be achieved immediately. However, I think that it will be a process which will provide a stimulus to the Communists with the help of new opinions and the plurality of opinions. This is what I think, what I want to believe, and what I do believe: namely, that with the other groups, the Communists will find a new path. [passage omitted on 1968 events and demonstrations concerning these events]

Stepan Addresses Prague Communists

AU2709113589 Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech 21 Sep 89 p 5

[Unattributed report on speech by Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, to the citywide consultation of chairmen of the CPCZ primary organizations in Prague on 18 September: "Continuing On the Embarked Upon Course"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

The Historical Significance of the Time

In the opening part of his speech Comrade Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, stressed that the annual membership meetings, plant, enterprise, local, and borough conferences are the individual phases of the preparations for the City Conference and the 18th CPCZ Congress, which the Prague party organization is now entering. The process of restructuring continues, the democratization of political and public life is being gradualy realized. As of January, our entire national economy will find itself in quite new conditions when the economic reform will begin to be fully implemented.

The restructuring processes throughout the entire socialist community, which are quite naturally followed by Communists and our entire public, are undergoing a stormy and often even very conflicting development.

Realism and Determination

The task which we are facing and which was formulated in detail by Comrade Jakes at the statewide consultation of leading regional and district party secretaries, will require great effort, realism, and determination.

The important thing is that we continue on the course on which we have embarked and let us not be sidetracked by various pressures and possible conflicts and risks, from resolving the tasks on which the fate of restructuring and democratization, and the further healthy development of society, depend. We fully endorse the conclusions of Jakes' speech and the results of the consultation. They are an inspiration and a guideline. [passage omitted]

From our own experience we know—and a recent public opinion poll confirmed this—that a great part of the Prague population supports restructuring. It expects from it modern development of socialist society, new growth of production, and a better satisfaction of its needs. A considerable number of people are marking their time, however. They do not believe in the success of restructuring and are waiting to see how it will develop.

Who Muddies the Waters

However, with the progress of restructuring, the development of democratization, and the frank assessment of both the past and the present, forces are also becoming active which have no liking for such party-initiated movement in society. They would like to muddy the waters to conceal in them their maneuvering aimed at disrupting the smooth progress of rational changes, at denying the CPCZ's leading role, and at destablizing society. This would lead in the end to the old dream of our reaction—to the return of the Czechoslovak society before February [1948], back to the times of bourgeois parliamentarim...

Although they are asserting via Radio Free Europe that they are interested in consistent restructuring which, according to them, does not proceed at the necessary pace, the pamphlet entitled Few Sentences reveals what kind of restructuring they have in mind. It is no coincidence that its authors are angry that we regard it as antisocialist. After all, the demands contained in it are nothing but an attempt to split the trade union movement and the entire National Front, to smash the unity of the Czechoslovak working people, to confuse public opinion, and to create a platform for preaching antisocialism. Their antistate, illegal printed matter is evidence of this.

Also, by raising the demand that all cultural activity be rid of political leadership, they would like to manipulate this sphere and exploit it for their political ends. We carefully differentiate between justified critical voices of the artistic front against a repetition of the administrative-directive measures which our party has renounced, and between demagogic demands behind which there is the attempt to misuse the justified voices against the party and the socialist state.

The Past Is Not an Unknown Quantity

Part of the so-called demands contained in the pamphlet are also an attempt to go back over postwar history, reassess it, and deny its progressive features and social accomplishments. The party has taken a frank and self-critical position on the past, even though evaluation of it is

not simple; it touches upon both reason and emotions. On the one hand, we are proud of the extensive social security, of the stability of the existence we have created for the working people, and also of society's achievements in science, culture, and production. On the other hand, we are also aware of the unnecessary problems in the development of the economy and society. Tragic manifestations of lawlessness have been condemned and rectified. However, the grossest error or evil intention is to fail to see this entire period in its historical context, to pass judgment without bearing history in mind. This was affirmed, for example, by Mr. Jiri Hajek, former minister of foreign affairs (in 1968) in his letter published in IZVESTIYA last Friday [15 September].

In achieving the results, the immense determination and energy of the people was an indisputable fact, the prerequisite of that time. We categorically reject and condemn the cynicism of self- appointed "assessors," who mock or laugh ironically at this endeavor, especially the efforts at the end of the 1940's and in the course of the 1950's. How much that is positive for society have these so-called critics created that they may hold in contempt the honest intentions and the work of hundreds of thousands from which they benefit today? Who has given them the right to spit on the honor of the working people?

The Only Option....

The party has drawn its lessons from history. One of the most important is the knowledge that the weakening of the party's leading role, the loss of its ability to act, followed by periods of crisis in society, always occurred when the party was not capable of making the correct decisions or assessing the situation and realistically expressing in its policy the true interests and needs of the working people, even though they were positive. Therefore, the most important thing now is to activate the party and increase the demands on every party member. The annual membership meetings and conference are indispensable in this process.

We abide and will continue to abide by these lessons also in our Prague party organization. Restructuring is the only option for the modern development of socialist society. Its initiator is the party and the party must must be its driving force and the guarantor of its realization in the socialist state.

Discarding Indolence

These are some of the issues that should be pondered and openly discussed during both the preparations for and during the annual membership meetings. It would be the gravest political error if the party organizations were to underestimate these preparations if they did not master the demands of the time. There are signs that in a number of places the preparations are being conducted in the old way, following the well-worn tracks, and that there is no willingness to extricate oneself from them, throw off indolence, and stop blindly believing in some sort of imaginary certainties.

In quite a few places no effort has been made to undertake an honest and frank analysis of the situation in a work collective, or within the range of an organization's activity. For example, not enough thought is being given to what impact the new situation in which the economy will find itself will have on a plant, a workshop, or individual work sites. In quite a few places they are still calling for the center to act. This reminds one of people trying to throw a hot potato into someone else's hands so as not to burn their fingers. [passage omitted]

The Art of Conducting a Dialogue

It is obvious that until now we have not become sufficiently aware of what impact the political ferment of our time has on young people. If there is a need for a frank dialogue somewhere, then it is a dialogue with the young generation. We should stop wondering whether one is allowed to discuss things with young people, or what to discuss with them, and wondering with whom and with whom not, and we must begin very seriously fighting for them in a dialogue. We must do so in the way the party leadership has more than once instructed: At university departments, work sites, vocational training centers. When one is confronted with an emotionally stirred up mob it is too late for dialogue. That would be a dialogue of the deaf. However, in collectives of people who know one another there can be a quite specific debate on concrete issues, and this is the surest way to achieve comprehending and understanding...

The discussions should also help us to ensure the selection of quality cadres for both committees and higher party bodies. The yardstick of a functionary's quality can only be his active militant commitment, competence, principledness, and skill in getting people together and leading them. After all, what is one to do with those described by wise people as "neither fish nor fowl," who, timorous as they are, are afraid of any raised voice or heated discussion? Or, what trust can functionaries earn, who have never learned, and who are still trying to cultivate some sort of a double-standard—one for meetings or public appearances, and the other for their private world of interests, ambitions, and privileges?

We do not have a surplus of trained cadres for functions. We are paying dearly for having underestimated cadre work in the past, and for the exaggerated stabilization of cadres, which is responsible for the present day complications. All the more serious attention must be paid to the training of cadres for functins in committees. At the same time, in accordance with our findings, more than one- third of the chairmen of the CPCZ city primary organizations will be exchanged.

Forecasts Yes, But....

General proclamations and nebulous prospects mean nothing to people. They do not take them seriously, and they mean nothing to them. This, of course, does not help an organization's authority. In order to explain this problem, I will digress a bit. At meetings and on other

occasions, various general forecasts about the development of our society at the turn of the century and even later are being critically assessed. In order to be correctly understood: If I were to reject forecasts I would be a shortsighted politician. Scientific forecasts of the future on the basis of detailed objective analyses with alternative scenarios and proposals for determining political and economic objectives are necessary for the healthy development of society. Their lack of them would be extremely harmful. However, what confuses an unprepared and unenlightened public, and leads it astray, is the publication of parts of these forecasts and background analyses, as well as debatable speculations, or the irresponsible, time-serving juggling with individual facts. What is this good for? To shock the public, to show how clever I am? The public needs to know, above all, the guarantees for today and for this generation. [passage omitted]

The Prague CPCZ City Committee is convinced that the entire upcoming period, which will conclude with the 18th CPCZ Congress, will be marked by an increased combativeness of the entire Prague party organization, that it will contribute to the strengtthening of the unity of the whole party and its ideological cohesion on the platform of our policy of restructuring and democratization.

Vaclavik on Army Help for Prague

LD0110211289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Excerpts] About an hour ago, the Days of the Czechoslovak People's Army ended in the Julius Fucik Park of Culture and Recreation in Prague. Lubos Lidicky and Tomas Mladejovsky will take you among the thousands of those who spent a pleasant afternoon there. [passage omitted]

The Days of the Czechoslovak People's Army were also visited by Army General Milan Vaclavik, minister of national defense, accompanied by Zdenek Horcik, Mayor of Prague.

[Begin recording] [Question] Comrade minister how would you assess the performance of the army here in Prague?

[Vaclavik] After experiences gained last year we have strived to display the vast range of activities carried out by troops.

[Question] Are you happy with the performance of soldiers?

[Vaclavik] Yes, I am satisfied.

[Question] And how would you assess the cooperation with sections of the National Front? SVAZARM [Association for Cooperation with the Army], the Red Cross, and the union of antifascist fighters have made appearances here.

[Vaclavik] We are very glad that they cooperate with us in this way because the range of the defense training of the population is very wide and every one of the sections of the National Front has its mission. And we are very glad indeed that they cooperate with us in this way and that they show our people what all has to be done for our population to be ready for defense.

[Question] Comrade Mayor, I would like to ask you how the army helps Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia?

[Horcik] We cannot complain that the army does not help us. I think that in recent times we have embarked on a path of concentrated cooperation, as we say, on all fronts. We are very glad that those approximately 7,000 boys, soldiers come to Prague to help in our difficult economic tasks which we have in the development of our capital in the framework of various projects carried out by the army and so on. [end recording]

So much from the Park of Culture and Recreation in Prague and goodbye.

Lenart Compliments Tomas Bata at Enterprise

AU2909103089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Sep 89 p 3

[Report on the speech by Jozef Lenart, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, to the employees of the "Enterprise of 29 August" in Partizanske on 23 September]

[Text] The working people of the "Enterprise of 29 August" in Partizanske commemorated the 50th anniversary of the enterprise and the city on Saturday [23 September]. Comrade Jozef Lenart, Presidium member and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, addressed a gala conference of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement.

When describing the development of the enterprise, he noted the modern nature and efficiency of the Bata-type entrepreneurship which, in the sense of Lenin's words, represented the progress of science and technology on the one hand, and an increased intensity of exploitation on the other.

We are not distorting matters in noting that the intense upsurge of Bata-ist entrepreneurship was marked by unusual entrepreneurial abilities and the quality of the firm's founder. It was precisely those abilities and that quality which, given the objective operation of the laws of the capitalist world, made it possible for the firm to behave in the predatory and merciless competitive struggle in such a way as to hold its ground, and beat its competitors, and prosper.

The firm's management was also better than others with respect to efficiency and organization within the enterprise, and management which was equal to the high degree of the development of production forces and was implementing a system of participation in the economic result—in profits and losses. This created the impression ofthe unity of the entrepreneur's and the employees' interests.

Jozef Lenart further said that we should not forget Lenin's appeal and the legacy of the workers who took over political power in the state—to learn and make rational use of modern systems of advanced capitalist methods. Not to admire them but, in our socialist spirit, restructure them without exploitation, fine-tune and finalize them in order to humanize the people's working and living conditions in such a way that man would not only be a machine's pendant, its complement, but become its leader, and increasingly the creator.

Thus, when we digress on the question of the success of Bata's entreprenurship, of the rapid growth of production and profits, we say—yes, our compliments to the entrepreneurial genius of the firm's founder. His, in more than one respect, pioneering work had and has its place in the industrialization process of this country and in industrial entrepreneurship in general. It is a part of a contribution to civilization, to mankind's general progress. However, in accordance with historical truth we also stress the following: it was, chiefly and mainly from work, hard work, sweat, and the callouses of thousand and thousands of people that this feat originated. That work by thousands of people created all the things of value; but, under the conditions of the capitalist ownership of the means of production at that time, they had the smallest share of and benefit from them. To express it graphically—these were only the "crumbs from the cake."

We mark your anniversary, Comrade Lenart continued, at a time when, throughout the whole of society, we are intensifying the effort aimed at realizing the program for the revolutionary restructuring of the whole of society.

Its objective is to develop socialist democracy in the interest of the comprehensive activation of the working people, of all citizens. This intention meets with the approval of a huge majority, who sympathize with it and support it.

Learning a Lesson From the Past

However, we do not pretend that there also exist certain wait-and-see attitudes which are connected with doubts, whether we are not inventing or imitating things, whether we are not unnecessarily complicating our lives. No, we do not. With profound conviction we say: Restructuring constitutes the socialist modernization of the management of the economy and of society, it is necessary for our country—objectively, as well as from the viewpoint of destiny. It really is the sole alternative for Czechoslovakia. It is mainly dictated by domestic conditions—by the political, economic, social, and ethical interest of our people, by the viewpoints of strengthening sovereignty and security, and the prestige and good name of Czechoslovakia in the world, in the competition of nations.

Therefore the program for restructuring, which respects the general objective laws of socialism, also grows from the domestic soil and needs; it takes into consideration our traditions and specific features. It includes and, in a desirable manner, reacts toward, for example, both the positive and negative aspects of the previous efforts aimed at economic reform, and also draws a lesson from the developments in the 1950's and the end of the 1960's. Thus, what is involved is a creative effort and a project which is the Czechoslovak variant of the common current of revolutionary revival in the socialist countries, prompted by the inspiring example of the Soviet Communists.

We also proceed from this in our economic reform, in the manner and pace of its realization, in such a way as to create conditions for the upsurge of the economy, for structural changes, modernization, and prosperity. At the same time, our line in this is to avoid inflation which can lead to anarchy and which hits particularly hard the old age pensioners, young families, and families with many children. We have had our experience of this—the older ones of you remember the postwar inflation caused by the Nazi thievery throughout our economy, as well as the tug-of-war of the bourgeois politicians in the 1945-48 period, which resulted in the monetary reform in 1953. The older ones know what a burden that was on the working man. We have also not forgotten the wave of inflation in 1968 when, under the pressure of various groups, uncovered billions had to be paid in goods, billions which then, in the interest of economic balance, had to be withdrawn from circulation by means of unpopular measures. For us, this is not the road to take, this is a project that opposes restructuring.

Further on in his speech, Jozef Lenart said: We want the achievements of the people and social security, which are the fruits of selfless work, to remain preserved. Thus, our choice and main line is and must be no unbridled inflation, but modern planning, rational use of money-market relations, more intensive involvement in the international and, especially, in the socialist division of labor, and quality work everywhere and by everyone.

In contrast with this is the advice from the ranks of the so-called Charter 77 to take unproductive loans abroad and thus, by means of disproportionate credits with usurious interest rates, burden the future generations. The purpose of these "feeble-minded" recommendations is to disrupt the domestic market through inflation, and when shops are empty to install their kind of "democratization." Thus, this is the opposite of our policy, of our road.

Behaving Like Real Managers

From what I have said there arises the categorical need to respect our koruna, hold money in esteem, and see to harmony in our country between the growth of productivity and the wages and remunerations paid out, to harmony between the money in circulation and the goods and services on the domestic market.

Someone might say that this, after all, is the matter for laws, the affair of the governments. Yes, much depends on the wisdom of their decisions. But it is all of us who decide and will decide the success and the assertion of

this road of ours. Our work determines the value of the koruna, as well as its convertibility, in the interest of better satisfying our needs.

We have to make progress in asserting social justice and apply the principle of remuneration according to the work done, for work, for a contribution, and not for the holding of a job, for work in general, for being present in the office. After all, this is unfair and immoral when all are eating the same mouthful from the common loaf in an enterprise, in an office, in research—those who have been working well, as well as those who have been working less well or poorly.

You in Partizanske know well what strong and rational instruments intra-enterprise management and intra-enterprise economic accountability are in the struggle for effectiveness, economizing, and quality. After the nationalization we had a very efficient intra-enterprise system—the SPH [socialist enterprise management], which other enterprises had also adopted. Unfortunately, bureaucratic methods strangled it and dismantled it. Today we are trying to revive and modernize it, because we need it as the yardstick for the economic reform. The SPH makes it possible to overcome anonymity and buck-passing, and it increases demands on relations between workshops, thus preventing the continuation of substandard work, and, on the basis of solid norms and calculations, it makes it possible to measure the work accurately and renumerate people accordingly.

Neither the many exhortations of the central bodies, nor the restructurings of the wage systems have led to progress in ending the equalization of remuneration. Therefore, we attach great importance to the rationalization of management within the party, being convinced that it is precisely the interest of the collectives themselves that can put this effort on a mass basis [masova zakladna] and yield results.

We consider the development of socialist democracy to be an organic part of the restructuring program. We see socialist democracy and the implementation of the economic reform as "communicating vessels," as a united process of society's advancement. We want the millions of citizens to feel and behave like real rulers and managers, so that they will be able to fully demonstrate and make use of their abilities and talents.

We are justified in saying that we will not go back to the pre-February [1948] conditions which made development difficult, and even less so to bourgeois pluralism which, by its "playing at democracy," was the mantle covering up the incompetence of the governing class in resolving people's cardinal problems, and which jointly participated in the smashing of the state and the loss of state sovereignty and national independence.

We think that our National Front represents a dynamic basis for making full use of the potential of the political parties, social and special-interest organizations—as the respresentatives of the people—in the formulation and realization of policy. It facilitates creative search and unification, criticism and self-criticism, as well as justified opposition. We are interested in friendly cooperation and partner-like competition between all forces who want to continue to improve the common socialist feat and who see in restructuring a new and hopeful road toward this.

Release of Blacklisted Movies Considered

AU0410150589 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 28 Sep 89 p 2

[Jiri Tvrznik article in the "Notes" column: "Belated Comeback"]

[Excerpts] Engineer Tugan Vesely, central director of Czechoslovak Films, yesterday [27 September] invited along journalists to brief them, among other things, on the current state of the restructuring of our cinematography and on the new attitude toward the movies and some movie directors of the 1960's. [passage omitted] Interesting information was provided on the release of all blacklisted Czech movie productions (there are more than 30 of them, including short films and medium-length films). A suitable form of distributing them is currently being considered. Engineer Vesely stressed that the ban of showing them at the time was connected with the political atmosphere of a certain period. Logically, this is changing, and thus the attitude toward movies that could not be shown in past years is being reassessed . It will certainly be interesting to see what the time that has elapsed since they were produced has done to their appeal. [passage omitted]

More Flea Markets in Moravia Banned

AU0410172189

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 3 October on page 2 carries a 500- word interview with Rudolf Jarolim, deputy chairman of the district national committee in Frydek-Mistek in North Moravia, entitled "Why Have the Flea Markets Been Banned?" In the interview, the place and date of which are not given, Jarolim discusses the motives which have prompted the "council of the district national committee to discontinue in September the organization of flea markets" in the district. Jarolim explains that the flea markets, which had until recently been held in Frydek-Mistek and in Trinec, have "been rapidly losing their original purpose and aim. They have gotten out of control and have degenerated into dealing and speculation. Moreover, in the broad surroundings of the market places they have been causing extraordinary problems in transportation, the environment, and the retail trade network. The complaints of citizens, but also of organizations and institutions, have been growing ever more insistent. The flea markets in our district have simply exceeded the limits of what is tolerable." Jarolim blames the rampant speculation, in particular, on "foreign nationals who, often under the pretext of 48-hour transit, have been earning horrendous sums in such peculiar deals. For the

money thus earned they have been buying up attractive consumer goods in our district, which they are selling at home at a profit." Jarolim concedes that a ban is not a popular measure and appeals to Czechoslovak manufacturers and exporters to provide the merchandise which "attracts people to the flea markets," such as electronics or jeans.

Shortage of RUDE PRAVO, Call for Price Rise

AU2609113589

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 23 September on page 1 carries an 800-word interview with Bohumil Plundra, director of the RUDE PRAVO publishing house, by Eva Sadilkova entitled "What Will RUDE PRAVO Look Like." The interview, the date and place of which are not given, deals with the reasons for the current shortage of RUDE PRAVO and with planned technological changes in its production.

Plundra says that, although RUDE PRAVO comes out in almost 1,120,000 copies during the week and in 1,540,000 copies on Saturdays, these numbers do not meet readers' demand and RUDE PRAVO is often sold out by seven or eight o'clock in the morning. He explains that the "limited paper resources" (caused by the reconstruction of the newsprint machine at Steti and lack of hard currency for imports) do not allow a higher print run.

Plundra also discusses the growing production costs of newspapers, caused by the doubling of the wholesale price of paper and other price increases. He says that, to cover the growing costs and to obtain resources for the purchase of new modern technology, "we will no longer get by without an adjustment of the retail prices" of RUDE PRAVO and other periodicals. Plundra points out that the retail prices of newspapers and periodicals have remained unchanged for 20 years and that the transition to self-financing will require an end to the policy of subsidies.

Asked about the impact of new technology on the production of RUDE PRAVO, Plundra says that HALO SOBOTA, the weekend supplement of RUDE PRAVO, will switch to photographic composition [fotosazba] "next week" and that, over a period of time, all periodicals printed by RUDE PRAVO should switch to photographic composition and offset printing. After the reconstruction of the newsprint machine at Steti, RUDE PRAVO will also be printed on thinner yet better quality paper.

Jakes Visits RUDE PRAVO in Prague

LD2109225589 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1300 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] As we have already informed you, Comrade Milos Jakes visited today the new RUDE PRAVO building in Prague.

He toured the technological part of the production of newspapers, editorial offices and the central documentation office which also stores the cuttings of the most important articles of RUDE PRAVO since 1945. He was interested in the workload of editors, their qualifications, and how they received their information.

Comrade Jakes emphasized that the quality, truthfulness and promptness of information is enormously important today because people are interested in the world events and we must be able to stand up to the strong foreign competition.

GDR Citizens Take Refuge in U.S. Embassy

LD0410104889 Hamburg DPA in German 1020 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Since Tuesday afternoon 18 GDR citizens have been inside the U.S. Embassy in East Berlin, seeking emigration to the West. As a spokesman for the mission informed on Wednesday, there are 10 adults and 8 children.

The GDR citizens had come in through the main entrance. The United States wants to find a "humanitarian solution" for the refugees, the spokesman said in reply to a question.

Apparently the East Berlin lawyer Wolfgang Vogel is also involved in this case.

Police Seal Off Embassy

LD0410152589 Hamburg DPA in German 1458 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—This afternoon many onlookers assembled in front of the U.S. Embassy in East Berlin, where 18 GDR citizens wanting to leave the country, among whom are 8 children, are staying. The flow of visitors was restricted. Visitors who reported their arrival at the entrance were put off until a later date by staff of the mission. During the afternoon the entrance to the embassy, which is situated between Brandenburg Gate and the Friedrich-strasse railway station, was sealed off by GDR Police. They positioned themselves in front of the door.

Arrests Made

LD0410172589 Hamburg DPA in German 1556 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—This afternoon the GDR police completely cordoned off the grounds in front of the U.S. Embassy in East Berlin, where GDR citizens are said to have been seeking refuge since Tuesday afternoon; they now number over 20. Within the space of a few minutes at least eight people who were standing near the building were arrested. Numerous streets in front of the U.S. mission were blocked off.

Several police vans were parked in side streets. The scenes were watched by many passers-by as well as by diplomats and press representative. Some people were crying in front of the embassy.

During the afternoon the number of people arrested rose to at least 12. A mother with three small children was also taken away by GDR police and had to climb into a police van with them. The children, aged between about 4 and 7 years old, were screaming according to reports from eye witnesses. A girl shouted, as she was being led to the vehicle with here siblings, "Mommy, I want to stay here."

Previously, about a hundred GDR police officers marched past the embassy and pushed back the 150-200 people. Among them were about 30-50 citizens who clearly wanted to get into the embassy. Some of them had luggage with them. There were families with small children among them. 04 oct 1758z kw

GDR Citizens Leave

LD0410193489 Hamburg DPA in German 1920 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The 18 GDR citizens who sought refuge in the U.S. Embassy in East Berlin left the building this evening.

A statement by the U.S. mission said that they are first of all returning to their home towns. The GDR government has offered to consider these people's applications to leave.

These means that it is very likely that these people, eight of whom are children, will soon leave the country, observers in East Berlin said.

USSR Criticizes 'Unlawful Attempts by FRG'

AU0510101789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 Oct 89 p 2

[ADN report: "USSR Shares Hope of GDR"]

[Text] Moscow—On Monday [3 October] the spokesman of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, Vadim Perfilyev, described as unlawful attempts by the FRG to extend its competence to GDR citizens. Asked about the USSR's stance on the emigration of GDR citizens, he stated, referring to the most recent statement by the spokesman of the GDR Foreign Ministry: "As you know, the GDR has made the decision after corresponding consultations with the FRG. We share the hope, expressed by representatives of the GDR Foreign Ministry on 1 October, that the FRG authorities will draw corresponding conclusions concerning the character and the activities of FRG embassies abroad."

CTK Support on Refugee Issue Reported

AU0510101589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 Oct 89 p 2

[ADN report: "CTK Statement: FRG Violates International Agreements"]

[Text] Prague—The CSSR news agency CTK published a statement on Monday [2 October], praising the GDR position in finding a humanitarian solution concerning persons from the GDR who illegally stayed at the FRG Embassy in Prague. The question is whether the FRG sticks to international and bilateral agreements, the statement points out. This applies to the Vienna convention on diplomatic missions, according to which the compounds of diplomatic missions must not be used in a way that is incompatible with their obligations, and according to which a diplomatic representation is not

entitled to grant asylum. In addition, the FRG is systematically violating the basic document of the Helsinki CSCE Conference by not respecting GDR citizenship.

Official Accuses FRG of 'Breach of Trust'

AU0510095389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 Oct 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Deliberate Distortion of Facts and Gross Breach of Trust by FRG"]

[Text] Bonn—The head of the Permanent Mission of the GDR in the FRG, Ambassador Horst Neubauer, in a talk with the FRG minister of the Chancellery, Rudolf Seiters, on Monday [2 October], protested strongly against the FRG's breaking agreements and promises in connection with the expulsion of former GDR citizens who had stayed in the FRG embassies in Prague and Warsaw. He vehemently protested that FRG politicians had deliberately distorted the course of events on 30 September and 1 October.

Ambassador Neubauer stressed that the move was a unilateral gesture by the GDR taken solely for humanitarian reasons, particularly in the interest of the children. This decision had been announced to Minister Seiters in the morning of 30 September by the head of the Permanent Mission of the GDR in the FRG, Ambassador Horst Neubauer. FRG Foreign Minister Genscher, who took part in the talks, is simply not telling the truth when he now claims for himself the "glory" of having achieved the accord through intensive negotiations in New York and elsewhere.

In the talks with Minister Seiters, the GDR side made it clear that the GDR proceeds from the assumption that the FRG Government will draw conclusions and implement normal operations at its embassies in Prague and Warsaw on line with international practice. There was a corresponding agreement, which, too, was not observed by the FRG. Ambassador Neubauer told Minister Seiters that the GDR regards this as a gross breach of trust. He insisted that the newly arrived GDR citizens in the Prague and Warsaw embassies be rejected and called for them to return to the GDR where they can bring forward their causes, which will then be decided upon in accordance with the undertakings that have been given.

Ambassador Neubauer stressed that reasonable solutions—also to difficult problems—can only be found if mutual trust and mutual reliability prevail. Efforts to misuse humanitarian solutions for political demonstrations and a media show block the way for businesslike cooperation.

FRG Embassy Activities in Prague Lambasted

LD0410164389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1417 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—As reported, the GDR government decided today to expel via GDR territory to the FRG those people who have been staying illegally in the FRG Embassy in Prague over the past few days. It made this decision in view of the fact that, due to the FRG's fault, an untenable situation again came about in its embassy in the CSSR capital. In making this decision, it was particularly influenced by the predicament of the children, who ended in a bad situation because of the irresponsible behavior of their parents.

This happened because Bonn again failed to adhere to the agreements and promises reached. These provided in particular that the FRG Government would temporarily close its embassy, thus ensuring that there would be no repetition of the situation last weekend. For this reason, the GDR side, as stated in the Foreign Ministry spokesman's statement on Saturday evening, was able to express the hope that the FRG Government will draw the necessary conclusions for normal operations at its embassies in line with international practice, since the agreement had already been reached with the FRG on 31 August that taking refuge in FRG missions cannot be the correct way to force emigration from the GDR.

The opposite of all this was again the case. Not only did the Bonn Government violate its word as far as its promises were concerned, but the unbridled campaign to lure GDR citizens and to denounce the socialist German state continued.

However, other, more serious matters are at stake. It must again be stated unequivocally that the actions of the FRG Government are a multiple breach of international law. Under the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations, to which both German states belong, the state concerned—represented abroad through its embassies and consular facilities—is only entitled to protect the interests of its own citizens, render them consular aid, and support and issue passports and travel documents to them. This is expressly stipulated in Article 5 of this convention. At the same time, it states that with reference to persons of third states, consular activity is exclusively limited to issuing visas or relevant documents. Consequently, the FRG is neither entitled to issue FRG passports to GDR citizens nor look after GDr citizens in a consular manner.

Above and beyond this it is laid down in the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations, to which both German states belong, that "the mission's premises may not be used in a manner incompatible with the work of the mission as laid down in this agreement, in other rules of international law in general..." As neither the extension of sovereignty over persons who are citizens of another state and the issue of passports meant for one's own citizens nor the accomodation of citizens of other states in the premises of an embassy, protected by international law, are part of the recognized functions of a diplomatic mission, the FRG's abuse of the premises and of the functions of diplomatic missions represents another serious violation of international law.

It must be pointed out that the FRG's actions are a violation of the Basic Treaty on relations between the GDR and the FRG as well as the statements, which confirm it in its entirity, in the Joint communique agreed on with Federal Chancellor Kohl during Erich Honecker's visit to the FRG. In the Basic Treaty, both states commit themselves to being guided by the aims and principles laid down in the UN Charter. In accordance with this, both states start from the premise in Article 4 [of the Basic Treaty] that neither can internationally represent the other, and Article 6 clarifies that the sovereignty of each of the two states is restricted to the area of its own state and that the independence and autonomy of each of the two states in its internal and external affairs will be respected.

Thus in the recently signed treaty, both states entered into the commitment—which is binding in international law—to respect the other state's sovereignty over persons and passports, the extent and limits of which are determined by international law. That means neither of the two states is entitled to extend its sovereignty over persons who are citizens of the other state.

To re-emphasize this, it is necessary, therefore, that measures be taken by the FRG Government to ensure that FRG Embassies carry out their work in accordance with international law and practice as all the other states of Europe do. Practices to the contrary only serve to disrupt the coexistence of the nations of Europe. The politicians in Bonn as well as those involved in such machinations should finally be clear about this.

FRG's 'Smear Campaign' Disrupts Relations

LD0510121789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0954 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Only two German states with equal rights can constitute important elements of a common European home, GDR social scientist Professor Otto Reinhold notes in an interview with the foreign policy monthly newspaper HORIZON. The "Federal GDR State therefore remains only a vision of its originators, even if all means are currently being used to try to convince us that the capitalist order is the final state of the development of society."

Referring to the development in relations with the FRG, Prof Reinhold points to important progress, particularly in the sphere of the economy, science and culture, and in vacation travel. Most important in this respect is, however, that both German states make the greatest possible contribution to safeguarding peace. It is known that the GDR has not only undertaken initiatives, but has, as a prior concession, embarked on real steps in the disarmament process and in other areas. "It will be in the interest of peace and in the interest of the further constructive consolidation of mutual relations if forces with a sense of responsibility in the FRG act in the same way."

Unfortunately, Prof Otto Reinhold says, it also has to be noted today that the smear campaign against the GDR, the theoretical and practical arrogation of a duty to care for GDR citizens, and the demand for a Germany in the 1937 borders noticeably disturb these relations. What is required is not the overcoming of the existence of two German states, but cooperation on what is probably the world's most sensitive border. This border is not only the dividing line between the two systems and military alliances, but on both sides of the border there are also the largest arsenals of nuclear and conventional weapons. "Responsible dealings with each other on this border will therefore remain a political task of the first order for a very long time."

Success must be achieved "in making Europe nuclear-free, in achieving the incapacity of the two military alliance to attack, and thereby creating the basis for trusting cooperation between capitalist and socialist states in the interests of the people on this continent," is Reinhold's "medium-term" vision of a common European home.

Border Police Arrest 3,000 Refugees

AU0510114489 Hamburg BILD in German 5 Oct 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Attorney Vogel: Release the 3,000 Arrested"]

[Text] East Berlin—GDR People's Police and CSSR border police in recent weeks have arrested about 3,000 GDR citizens for "attempted escape from the republic." They caught the refugees at the GDR-Polish border and at the CSSR-Hungarian border. According to well-informed sources in East Berlin, they are all imprisoned in the GDR.

GDR attorney Wolfgang Vogel has asked the responsible authorities to release the prisoners. They are supposed to be free from punishment and be allowed to emigrate to the FRG with their families. Vogel made this demand in light of the expulsion of GDR citizens who had sought refuge in the Warsaw and Prague embassies.

The GDR authorities have not yet reacted to Vogel's move.

'Many' Arrested at Dresden Train Station

LD0410182489 Hamburg DPA in German 1733 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin/Dresden (DPA)—According to witnesses, there were many arrests during the clearing of Dresden's main train station by police. The police used batons and took away many people in trucks. Some reports estimated the crowd, which for a while congregated outside and inside the station, as being as large as 5,000.

Reports coming in from Leipzig today said that parts of the city center were closed to private vehicles. There were many checks. People were waiting on the tracks and on a platform. Those who wanted to wait at the station last

night for trains to Bavaria were predominantly young people and families with small children and babies.

The crowd repeatedly shouted: "We want to get out." Over the station public address system was heard: "Citizens, approach the Department of the Interior with your concerns." The people were urged several times to leave the station. Representatives of the church were also present, trying to mediate.

Demonstrations Again in Dresden

LD0510102889 Hamburg DPA in German 0920 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin/Dresden (DPA)—There were further serious incidents yesterday evening in the vicinity of Dresden's main railway station. Reportedly there were also some casualties.

It is reported from the city today that several thousand people are on the streets, some of whom are demonstrating to be allowed to leave the country, and shouting: "We want out." A large section of the crowd consists of onlookers and curious bystanders, first reports say.

The police are present with truncheons and water cannons. There was fighting and isolated acts of violence by demonstrators. Some paving stones were reportedly thrown, and several windows broken. The police and security forces advanced against the crowd. It is not yet known how many people were arrested. During the night the situation returned to normal.

Church representatives described the situation as "depressing," and called on all those involved to renounce violence.

Citizens Seek Refuge in French Embassy

AU0510083889 Paris AFP in English 2348 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin, Oct 5 (AFP)—A group of eight East Germans including a five-year-old girl tried to take refuge in the French Embassy in East Berlin Wednesday, but were stopped by police, witnesses said.

Police ordered them to leave the Embassy premises, which occupy several floors in an office building, and they finally did so. Several of them were crying when they left the building, escorted by French diplomats, who took them away in two cars. An Embassy spokesmen said the East Germans had decided to leave the mission voluntarily. He said East German officials had told the Embassy that they would not be bothered, and that their cases "will be considered benevolently".

'New Forum' Urges Moderation, Dialogue

LD0410122489 Hamburg DPA in German 1123 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The GDR citizens' initiative "New Forum" has appealed for moderation on the day before the ceremonies for the 40th anniversary of the GDR in view of the escape movement by GDR citizens. It made an urgent appeal Wednesday to all those who sympathize with it. "Force is not a means of political argument, do not let yourselves be provoked!" it says in the appeal, which has become known in West Berlin.

The "New Forum," which was recently refused a permit by the GDR Interior Ministry, stresses in its appeal that it has nothing to do with right-wing radical and anticommunist tendencies. It wants a better dialogue and thought about the future. "In view of the present critical situation," the Forum calls on all people in the GDR to think and act in solidarity in a fully responsible way.

Further on Appeal

LD0410172989 Hamburg DPA in German 1522 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—Shortly before the celebrations marking the 40th anniversary of the GDR, representatives of the GDR opposition are expressing growing fears of an explosive mood among the population. The GDR citizens' initiative, "New Forum", today called for moderation in view of the heightened emotions in connection with the wave of refugees, which shows no signs of abating. In an urgent appeal to all who sympathize with the move of democracy it was stated: "Violence is not a means of political argument, do not let yourselves be provoked!"

Moreover, a leading member of the East German CDU [Christian Democratic Union] Winfried Wolk, admitted in an interview with the "BILD" newspaper, (Thursday edition): "I have a great fear of 7 October, the 40th anniversary, with its stage-managed festivities that bear no relation to the realities in the country." The member of the East German CDU's Main Executive Committee drew a parallel with the events in China. "I am afraid that the groups that have hitherto gone onto the streets in Leipzig and other cities will use this day to demonstrate in front of the world public. I am afraid that similar things will then happen to what happened in China. But no blood must be shed." Wolk appealed to the GDR politicians not to cut themselves off any longer and not to believe that they "Can run our affairs for us all and if necessary beat us all down." This incapacitation of the citizens, decreed by the state, has to stop.

The "New Forum", which the GDR Interior Ministry recently refused to register, stressed in its appeal, which was announced in West Berlin, that it has no connection with radical right-wing and anticommunist tendencies. It wants a better dialogue. "In view of the current critical situation," the Forum is calling all people in the GDR to act in a responsible manner and show solidarity. The founding members, Baerbel Bohley and Jutta Seidel, have announced meanwhile that the "New Forum", with the assistance of a lawyer, has formally protested against the refusal of registration in a petition that has been submitted to the East Berlin Interior Ministry.

Ottfried Hennig, secretary of state in the Inner German Affairs Ministry has urged "all those involved" to demonstrate a level- headed approach in view of the crucial situation. "Another 17 June [1953 uprising] in the GDR would be a terrible event that no one can want", Hennig said in an interview with the "SCHWAEBISCHER ZEITUNG". Berlin's governing mayor, Walter Momper, told journalists in Berlin that if the GDR does not now give a positive answer to the signals for reform coming from its own populaiton, it will miss a historic opportunity to change its course. At the same time, he warned West German politicians against dragging down the opposition's democracy movement in the GDR with an ill-timed debate on reunification. Reunification is not the aim of these groups.

Eberhard Diepgen, chairman of the Berlin CDU parliamentary group, called upon GDR party and state leader Erich Honecker, in a personal appeal, to create possibilities for freedom to travel and visit others and to permit an open political discussion. Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher once again expressed the hope that a policy of opening up will also win through in the GDR. The Federal Government, therefore, "opposes any destabilization by word or deed." Bonn is prepared to make a contribution toward attempts at reforms in the GDR, Genscher stresed on North German Radio.

Seeks New Road

AU0410153189 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 4 Oct 89 p 4

[Report by D. Dose and H.R. Karutz: "The New Forum Is Trying To Find its Own Road to Socialism"]

[Text] Berlin—The West and the political parties in Bonn reacted with astonishment to critical statements on the mass exodus of GDR citizens from the Prague and Warsaw embassies, made by a group of GDR reformists—of all people—who have assumed the opinion leadership of opposition groups in the country. In a telephone interview by Hanns Joachim Friedrichs on Hamburg ARD Television on Monday evening [2 October], Baerbel Bohley said on behalf of the "New Forum," which is spreading the word throughout the GDR that the Forum had been "misunderstood," "We do not condemn the fact that the refugees have been allowed to go to the West. What we wanted to say is that this is not a political solution but a solution that has been imposed by the facts.... There is but one solution for the GDR—political reform." When Friedrichs asked whether the "New Forum" agreed to the exodus, a clear "yes, of course" was the answer.

These additional questions and revisions are not only typical of intra-German problems of understanding; they also prove the "New Forum" 's dilemma. It was never an issue for the first signatories of the appeal entitled "Departure 89"—which has meanwhile been signed by about 10,000 supporters—to view themselves as the mouthpiece of emigres or sounding board of the mood of the majority of the people. One of the crucial sentences of the founding appeal says that "we intend to preserve what has proved good, and yet want to create room for renewal."

The Forum wants to think about things that are "more than just of current interest," overcome the speechlessness and hopelessness of the thousands of people in the embassies (and of those who will follow them), but it does not under any circumstances intend to turn its back on the GDR. The shouts of the 20,000 people in Leipzig: "We are staying here" in response to the chants: "We want to go" characterize the wide gulf between the moral-intellectual goals of the Forum and the real mood among broad sectors of the people in the GDR. The "New Forum" is not yet established in the people's minds as a way out, a goal, or an alternative to emigration.

The broadly based group with its cross-section of founding members—ranging from clergymen, students, physicians, music teachers to physicists and prominent molecular biologists—is clearly striving for changes within the given framework of the GDR system. The first document, which in a quick reaction of the GDR Interior Ministry was denounced as "antistate," says specifically that one wants to think "jointly and throughout the country." Asked about the motives of the GDR refugees in Prague and Warsaw and why they did not believe the pledges of Honecker aide Wolfgang Vogel, one of the most important reformist thinkers in the GDR told DIE WELT some days ago: "I have not thought about it. That is not my problem." In fact, the emigration issue is neither a central topic, nor is analyzing the reasons for emigration one of the Forum's most important activities.

If we tried to find a pattern for the "New Forum" in the party landscape of the Federal Republic, the following position would result: right of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] as a "working class party," ready for cooperation with the SED comrades, however, clearly left of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD], marked by grassroots democracy, and therefore organized like the Greens—and pursuing its "own road to socialism." However, not a socialism according to the SED pattern, as attorney Rolf Henrich—who was ousted from Honecker's party—has stressed. The five most important catchwords in the founding appeal—the "wish for justice, democracy, peace, and the protection and preservation of nature"—illustrate the political basis. It is a mixture of Prague spring, Gorbachev, Hungary's "revolution from above," and green ideas.

By the way, the national problem has so far not played a role, in the "New Forum" or in other critical groups. Baerbel Bohley does not know what to do with terms such as "reunification." Reinhard Schult, construction worker and one of the first signatories of the New Forum told STERN that "reunification is not an issue for us. We find the constant tootling of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] about the brothers and sisters in the East enervating and disgusting." This is one opinion among

many in the spectrum of the Forum; however, most founders probably have the same position.

On the other hand, an experienced man such as Reverend Hans-Jochen Tschiche, head of the Magdeburg Evangelical Academy and founding member of the New Forum, said in a DIE WELT interview: "The GDR's political existence will depend on how it determines its future function in Eastern Europe. It cannot just be the 'appendix' of the Federal Republic." Thus the GDR's statehood is not called into question; however, its role in connection with the European dimension of the German problem is.

It is striking that the Forum members have not yet commented on the unusually frank statement of Otto Reinhold—one of the most important SED ideologues—that the GDR is basically only conceivable as a Marxist socialist state. If it were not conceived as an ideological counterpart to the Federal Republic, it would have no right to exist, Reinhold believes. Where would the GDR stand, if the Germans in both parts lived in an adjusted system?

Baerbel Bohley and her groups must fight on several fronts simultaneously. Whereas the Free German Youth organ JUNGE WELT reproached her for trying to create nothing else but a "platform against existing socialist conditions," the majority of the policy-weary people in the GDR refuse to deal at all with concrete political "models" or gradual positive development steps. Because no reform signals have been sent—something the SED leadership should have done since the summer of 1988 at the latest—the people's internal withdrawal is continuing.

Editor Views 'Cross Border' Media Responsibility

AU0410115089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Sep-1 Oct 89 p 10

[Article by NEUES DEUTSCHLAND deputy chief editor Harald Wessel on 100th anniversary of publicist Carl von Ossietzky: "Carl von Ossietzky's Legacy and Responsibility of Modern Media for Peace"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] We do not want to claim that the GDR has a monopoly on the intellectual and political legacy of Carl von Ossietzky. No, our only privilege in connection with Ossietzky is our special responsibility to do everything possible—which includes making sacrifices—so that fascism and war never again will start from German soil. We may be described as political donkeys, the worst psychological war since Goebbels' demagogy may be waged against us, attempts involving enormous sums of money may be made to destabilize the first German worker-peasant state—we continue to resolutely stick to our historic obligation of providing an adequate counterweight to all Pan-Germanic efforts. Who, if not the GDR, should save central Europe from West German superiority? [passage omitted]

Ossietzky has been called a "chivalrous politician." Others have stressed his sincerity and fairness (also toward political opponents). Ossietzky probably acquired his sense of fairness as a result of his British experiences. His wife Maud von Ossietzky was the daughter of a British officer. The British bourgeoisie had developed at a relatively early stage what the German bourgeoisie has not acquired to date: a certain facade of fairness.

Now, I can imagine a man of the moral stature of Carl von Ossietzky paying a visit to the office of the chief editors of the SFB (Sender Freies Berlin television station) and calling for chivalry, sincerity, and fairness. He would be confronted with peals of laughter. Why do I imagine this? Present-day realities suggest this idea. The SFB is responsible for the talk show "Friday Night," moderated by Lea Rosh and aired by the third channel of the FRG television.

Mudslinging or Talk Show

Mrs Lea Rosh had also invited Comrades Otto Reinhold and Rolf Reissig to participate in the talk show on 8 September. They declined the invitation because they at this point did not consider a talk show the suitable framework to conduct sensitive dialogue with representatives of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD]. The course of the show demonstrated that they were right. The glimmering U.S. term "talk show" would have better been translated that evening by the beautiful German word "mudslinging."

During the show, Mrs Rosh, who is know as a courageous leftist moderator whose programs are used as a democratic-pluralistic alibi by the ARD television station, was given a slip of paper that contained the false information that Rolf Reissig had just denied having declined the invitation. He wanted to participate but had not been granted a visa. Mrs Rosh read out the message, for which nobody at SFB wants to be responsible now, in front of millions of spectators, thus providing a dramatic boost to the hysterical campaign that is being waged against the GDR. This was an infamous lie and a deliberate provocation in the new psychological war against the other German state and its citizens. Mrs Rosh spoke of the "bankruptcy of socialism" while the moral bankruptcy of her program was under way.

A few days later, Lea Rosh apologized to Rolf Reissig who, of course, insisted on a quick correction in front of a comparable audience. The GDR scientist sent a telex to the SFB director on 14 September, presenting his version of what happened. The director did not take the matter seriously and resorted to the trick of correcting the lie on 20 September toward the end of the regional West Berlin evening news program in connection with reports on crime. Thus, the infamy of the headlines continues to have an impact. Why is Lea Rosh not given the opportunity to tell the truth and apologize in front of millions of spectators?

Instructive Degree of Self-Revelation

Are we illusionists if we call for a minimum degree of fairness on the part of the professional anticommunists

who are waging a psychological war? Are chivalry, sincerity, and fairness really completely old- fashioned and obsolete values? Of course, the class struggle between socialism and capitalism has not come to an end. This applies particularly in the intellectual sphere. Those who started hoping in the spring must realize this fall that their hope was not justified. The immoderateness of the most recent wave of hysteria that is directed against the GDR reveals quite a lot about those who are launching the campaign. The Horsemen of the Apocalypse with their telegenic masques have gone too far in their euphoria. The dangerous call for the borders of 1937 arose amid all the humanitarian fuss. Everybody knows now: Those advocating expansion toward the East have not died out, they are only wearing masques of the Order of the Knights of Malta. [passage omitted]

Small Countries Know How They Will Defend Themselves

In January 1989, the 87th Bergedorfer talks took place in Dresden, sponsored by the Koerber Foundation, named after Kurt A. Koerber, an industrialist from Hamburg. The topic was environmental protection. One also got to discuss intellectual environmental protection. West German politician Kurt Biedenkopf, of the Christian Democratic Union, remarked that particularly we in Europe are increasingly faced with the problem of—as he defined it—"loss of sovereignty through cross border media." This is an intellectual way of describing the possibility of interference through the effect of electronic media across borders.

Kurt Biedenkopf said that one could "also speak of losses in the shaping of politics." "And who benefits from what is 'being lost'?" This is what we ask in return. Is central Europe to be occupied by imperialist media? Are the smaller countries to cede their intellectual, cultural, and political rights to self-determination to the large countries with the most powerful media? Are the grinning directors of SIB and RIAS-TV (to those who do not remember: RIAS stands for radio in the American sector) to "moderate" our discussions on the further shaping of socialism in the colors of the GDR?

Those who participated in the discussion in Dresden at least agreed that the modern media that broadcast across borders have a responsibility for peace, which needs to be more clearly defined. There was mention of a European convention on trans-border media. It is clear that the potential "losers of parts of their sovereignty" sooner or later will defend themselves with the means of international law. Recordings of FRG and West Berlin programs of the recent psychological war against the GDR might serve as an enlightening basis for discussion. For one thing is obvious: This psychological war offends against all responsibilities for peace. It is only due to the GDR's calmness that it was possible to avoid even worse developments this long summer. [passage omitted]

What example will the FRG daily DIE WELT follow these days? That of Goebbels or that of Carl von Ossietzky? Springer's newspaper made a big fuss about the removal of the 40-year-old quotation marks from the GDR and its citizens this summer in a ritualized sacrificial act, and soon the people of DIE WELT had to think of something new. The term changed from "GDR" citizens to GDR citizens, and from GDR citizens to those living in the zone [zonis]! The elected representatives of the GDR are again referred to as "those in power" ["Machthaber"] and "clique" as in the days of the cold war. We refuse to comment on such insulting words. Yet, those political forces in the FRG who created the motto of "controversy between the ideologies in a civilized manner" in the summer of 1987 have now to be asked how much longer they want to remain silent in the face of such "freedom of the press," which means the absence of culture and manners. [passage omitted]

Causes of Rock Burst Discussed With FRG

AU0310124589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Sep 89 p 7

[ADN report: Talks Between GDR and FRG on Rockburst"]

[Text] Bonn—Talks were held in Bonn between the government delegations from the GDR and FRG on the causes of the rock burst that occurred on 13 March 1988 and on the pressing of potash waste water into the rocks. Experts from both sides attended the meeting. It was agreed to continue negotiations in the GDR in October.

NATO 'Intrabloc Problems' Affect Vienna Talks

LD2209172589 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1513 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Guenter Leuschner commentary on weekly "Foreign Political Review" program—recorded]

[Text] Expected to yield first results as early as next year, the negotiations in Vienna are going into increasing detail. The current step-by-step approach to every single aspect of the talks is a quite common procedure. What the West has put on the negotiating table in the Vienna Hofburg [Palace] now, is just one more tiny component to supplement the proposals at hand, but certainly fails to create sensational news. The new proposals are about information, measures of stabilization and, even if only in very general terms, about issues of verification. For example, certain movements of troops are to be announced 6 weeks in advance and so is the conscription of large reserves.

What is interesting is the proposal of following military exercises involving more than 40,000 troops to be staged only once every other year. That seems to some very close, at least, to what the Warsaw Treaty countries had already suggested years ago and what, allegedly for geographical reasons, NATO had turned down as impossible back then and even until very recently. If new

insights have gained ground here, they will certainly be met with approval on our side.

One problem in the negotiations held so far was NATO's demand to leave depot-based weapons unconsidered in setting the envisaged regional ceilings. We have rejected that demand, since it would have maintained the excessive concentration of heavy arms along the border between the two military blocs and would thus have produced the opposite of what the Vienna talks are all about. Supplementary proposals were submitted in this respect, too, today. Whether they will lead to a rapprochement of current positions, will require close scrutiny—something that, of course, applies to the entire package of proposals.

NATO had originally planned to submit these proposals at the very beginning of the current round of talks, but failed to do so because of internal differences. The fact that these differences have not been entirely cleared—and the West has made no attempt to deny it—is reflected in the most vaguely worded ideas on the inevitable verification of any future disarmament agreement.

There is disagreement, it is understood, between the West European NATO countries on the one hand and the U.S. on the other. While the latter, the U.S., expect their own territory not to be covered by any control and thus welcome more strict verification, West European armament enterprises are afraid of the loss in competitiveness vis-a-vis their U.S. rivals that stricter measures might entail.

Such intrabloc problems thus also play a role in the Vienna negotiations, and increasingly so, perhaps, with every progress made. For the time being, however, the Western supplementary proposals will be examined and the Warsaw Treaty countries will add further-reaching ideas to its proposals already on the table.

Fischer Makes 'Declaration of Principle' at UN

AU0310115189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Sep - 1 Oct 89 p 5

["Declaration of principle" by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer at the 44th session of the UN General Assembly in New York on 29 September: "Lasting Security Can Be Established Only Together"]

[Text] Mr President, I congratulate you on your election as president of the 44th session of the UN General Assembly and I wholeheartedly wish you success.

Mr President:

A few weeks ago we commemorated the 50th anniversary of the criminal attack by Hitler's Germany on Poland. This attack was the beginning of the most devastating and bloodiest world conflagration in the history of mankind. In its fire a coalition of states with different social systems was forged; the organization of the United Nations was ultimately established, to whose work mankind owes the chance for a peaceful future.

The peoples learned the lesson:

War and fascism must never be permitted again, violence must be banished forever from the life of mankind, and must be defeated by joint action for peace.

The GDR is in favor of the United Nations' weight and influence being used even more effectively than hitherto to eliminate the threat to mankind posed by weapons of mass destruction. For this purpose, it is necessary to overcome economic underdevelopment and to preserve the natural environment as a basis for people's lives. The possibilities for this are there. Using them requires boldly strengthening positive aspects, carefully expanding achievements, and countering backward trends with determination.

However, it causes concern

—that, parallel to the implementation of the INF Agreement and to the current disarmament negotiations, the arms race is being continued in all fields;

—that longstanding conflicts cannot be solved because not all parties to the conflicts have the will to observe the legitimate interests of the conflicting parties;

—that a number of countries can show considerable economic growth, while an increasing number of peoples in the Third World are thrown ever farther back in their development;

—that the natural environment is being increasingly damaged, also because international measures for its protection are insufficient;

—that the strengthening of the international legal order is called for all over the world but that, at the same time, attacks on state sovereignty and territorial integrity, as well as interference in the internal affairs of other states are increasing.

GDR for Joint Examination of Military Concepts

Bertolt Brecht has his Galilei believe in the "gentle force of reason," which people cannot resist in the long run. The nuclear-space age, with its apocalyptic risks for mankind, necessitates a new way of thinking about security policy. However, this insight does not come from nothing.

Outdated concepts and ways of behavior have to be abolished in a dialogue between politicians, military men, scientists and all people committed to peace that goes beyond any borders, and have to be replaced by appropriate thinking and actions, which are characterized by reason, high ethical values, and a sense for reality. Only this promises peaceful prospects to the peoples at the threshold to the next millennium. Some of these things have been reflected in international documents.

It is encouraging that in the statements of the ninth summit of the heads of state and government of the Nonaligned Movement the firm will is expressed to find concurrent solutions to the urgent problems of our planet through a peaceful and constructive dialogue with all other states.

On the other hand, much still remains to be done to clear the way for the realization that lasting security can only be established with one another and not against each other. Above all, one must ditch doctrines that preserve or nurture enemy images, thus encouraging the arms race and even keeping the option of the first use of nuclear weapons.

The GDR urges a joint examination of military concepts and their strictly defense orientation. The United Nations should also take this up. In this way the ban on violence contained in its Charter can be developed and its observance can be guaranteed all over the world.

Stable security for all comes only from a policy which takes into consideration the interlacing of military, political, economic, and humanitarian factors and is aimed at further pushing back military power in favor of political cooperation.

This is the aim of the initiative of the socialist states for a comprehensive approach to strengthening international security, which guarantees to all states of the various regions a coexistence without conflicts and tensions—that is, good-neighborly coexistence.

Exemplary Advance Moves for Disarmament Made

In Europe the main goal must continue to be to reduce the excessive arms arsenals to such an extent that the danger of war is banished forever. Then East and West could cooperate and grow together more closely on a new basis for the benefit of all peoples.

The Vienna negotiations on conventional armed forces as well as on further confidence- and security-building measures could soon attain the first agreements on the mutual reduction of troops and armaments, if all parties involved were to negotiate constructively and with a readiness for compromise.

Like its allies, the GDR has contributed with exemplary advance moves to favorable preconditions for speedy negotiations. Unilaterally, the People's Army will be reduced by 10,000 men by 1990 and its arms arsenal will be reduced by 600 tanks and 50 planes. We already have the first practical experiences in some areas of armament conversion, which we would like to contribute to the international exchange.

I would like to emphatically point to the proposal of the Warsaw Pact states to start negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons, parallel to the Vienna negotiations on conventional armed forces and armaments. Our goal remains a Europe—even a world—without nuclear arms.

In order to take into account the sensitive border between the two military alliances and to push back the weapons of mass destruction in central Europe, the GDR advocates the establishment of zones that are free of nuclear weapons and chemical weapons, and in which special confidence-building measures are effective.

Let me note in this connection: It is not the difference in the social systems that makes the building of the European house so complicated. The arms race, maintaining the military threat, and the recently intensified efforts to abolish socialism as a social system hinder this.

The path toward a stable peace and fruitful cooperation, Mr President, is a stony one, but it can be followed. However, it must not be made additionally difficult. What has been jointly established in Europe over the past 2 decades and which we all can be proud of was possible because the Helsinki Final Act recognized the international legal principles of the UN Charter and the political and territorial realities that developed after World War II. This must remain so.

Claims that the German Reich continues to exist within the borders of 1937, are as dangerous as they are untenable; because the German Reich perished as a result of its policy of aggression in 1945. Since then, the European realities have included the existence of two sovereign German states. Their relationship with each other is and remains very important for stability in Europe and for the continuation of detente in the world. This is what guides the socialist German state, which will celebrate its 40th anniversary within a few days. Whoever wants stability in Europe knows the value of the fact that there is a state at the border between the two largest military alliances whose supreme motto is: War must never again start from Germany soil, but only peace!

Whoever Calls Into Question Borders Endangers Peace

Firmly rooted in the antifascist traditions and based on the dynamic development of its society, the policy of the GDR remains reliable. In the past, the socialist German state accomplished important things for peaceful coexistence in Europe, and it will continue to do so.

The GDR supports the statement agreed by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council, and FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl in March 1985, and affirmed by the joint communique of September 1987, which says that the inviolability of the borders is a basic condition for peace. Preserving it and consolidating it through new steps of trust remains the command of the hour.

Calling into question borders or presuming under the pretense of humaneness, while violating the sovereign rights of other states, a so-called duty to care for the citizens of those states must provoke conflicts, undermine cooperation in the heart of Europe, and even endanger peace.

Mr President, disarmament, the settlement and prevention of international conflicts, and the strengthening of

the international legal order are guarantees for a world of peace, security, and well-being.

Disarmament remains a key question in this connection. The implementation of the INF Treaty, which must not be undermined by so-called modernization, is in the interest of all peoples.

However, it is equally obvious that the speed of corresponding negotiations is insufficient and does not at all live up to the requirements.

Breaking the Vicious Circle of the Arms Race

From the GDR's point of view it is necessary

—to expand the negotiations to all kinds of weapons;

—to break the vicious circle of the arms race and not compensate for weapons that have been eliminated;

—to present corresponding results to the peoples.

May the USSR and the United States soon be able to reduce their strategic nuclear weapons by half, while adhering to the ABM Treaty.

In order to stop the nuclear arms race, the large majority of the states demand a total nuclear test ban. This would also consolidate the nonproliferation treaty. In this connection, the Soviet Union's proposal to stop the production of fissionable material for armament purposes deserves UN support.

This January, the participants in the Paris conference emphatically came out in favor of the earliest possible conclusion of a convention on the ban of chemical weapons; nevertheless, the Geneva negotiations do not really make progress.

The danger of the proliferation of these means of mass destruction increases to the extent to which the conclusion of a worldwide convention is delayed.

This is incomprehensible, because there is a consensus as regards the essential basic issues of the convention. There is an exchange of data and verification methods have been tested. The GDR, which neither possesses chemical weapons nor stores any on its territory, has passed on data on its chemical production and the results of a national control experiment. Before this forum, I affirm the proposal to hold a meeting of foreign ministers, within the framework of the Geneva conference, to reach the final stage of the negotiations.

We welcome the results of the most recent talks between the USSR and the United States in this field as a pledge to conclude this convention no later than next year.

Mr President, preventing the arms race in space becomes ever more urgent. In the interest of step-by-step solutions, the GDR has presented the basic elements of a treaty on the ban of anti-satellite weapons at the Geneva conference, and hopes that negotiations will be started soon. This will certainly provide important spheres of work for the United Nations.

It could also evaluate available findings and experiences of armament conversion and make this information accessible to all states. In this connection, we have the general requirement to use modern science and technology for disarmament. I suggest the discussion of this topic within the United Nations as of now.

Esteemed delegates, the GDR is in favor of continuing the efforts to work out criteria for a comparison of military budgets in order to further increase openness in the military field. In this it will use the standardized international reporting system of the United Nations on military expenditure and will participate with the available date as of 1990.

Valued Role of the United Nations

Mr President, perhaps one of the most important experiences that are left to mankind by the last part of the 20th century is that quarrels and conflicts can no longer be solved by military means. They can be solved exclusively through respecting the legitimate interests of the conflicting parties and an approach that is ready for compromise. In this connection, the United Nations and its secretary general are playing—and I would like to stress this—a valued role of promoting this process. The peace-preserving operations are proving their worth and are supported by my country.

The world is following with great sympathetic feelings Namibia's way into independence. The GDR has long supported this process. It has helped to bring Namibian refugees back to their homeland and has fulfilled the request of the UN secretary general to make policemen and election observers available. The smooth course of the elections that are scheduled for November must be ensured so that we will soon be able to welcome free Namibia as a member of the world organization. The implementation of Resolution 435 contributes to peace and stability in southern Africa. Apartheid, however, the main reason for the conflicts in this region, continues to exist. Abolishing it continues to be a dictate of humaneness.

Despite the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, the armed conflict continues. Over the years, we have heard here at this forum: first the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan—then we will have peace. The USSR has withdrawn its troops in accordance with the agreement, and the Afghan Government has presented a reasonable program of national reconciliation which does not exclude any political or military forces. Those who really want peace, who are really concerned about the welfare of the Afghan people, now have to follow the path of reconciliation. The United Nations has to make an active contribution to this.

The states of Asia are trying to normalize their relations. This confirms our hope that not only the situation in

Afghanistan, but also the conflict between Iran and Iraq and the Cambodia question can be settled in a peaceful and just way.

On the Korean peninsula, too, the problems that have developed can be solved only by means of a peaceful dialogue and understanding. The GDR supports the proposals of the DPRK to lastingly guarantee peace and detente in this area.

I note with satisfaction the realistic prospects for the Korean people to be able to turn toward peaceful work. The GDR appreciates the contribution of the five Latin American presidents to the political solution of the problems. The realization of their proposals and agreements presupposes good will and the consistent observance of international law by all sides.

The socialist German state is extremely concerned about the fact that there is still no peace in sight in the Middle East. The Palestinian people are still being forcibly deprived of their legitimate rights, their uprising is being rigorously suppressed. A settlement of these and other problems in the region through an international Middle East peace conference under the aegis of the United Nations and with the equal participation of the PLO and Israel, as well as of the permanent members of the UN Security Council, would be in the interest of all parties involved and in the interest of universal peace.

A peaceful settlement of the West Sahara question, with the participation of the OAU and the United Nations, would be another important landmark on the path of the African peoples toward lasting peace and social progress.

The Cyprus question is also unsolved. Negotiations between the leading representatives of the two population groups, with the mediation of the UN secretary general, about a solution in the interest of the entire Cypriot people should be encouraged.

Mr President, under today's international conditions and with a view to the requirements of the future, the importance of international law for security and good-neighborly cooperation between the states is increasing. In particular, such principles as the ban on the use or threatened use of force, as well as the duty to settle conflicts peacefully do not have any more effective alternative.

Therefore, the GDR supports the initiative of the nonaligned states to have the United Nations declare the next decade the decade of international law.

We consider the following items to be the most urgent for expanding the international legal order which must strengthen an order of peace:

first, to achieve a reliable consensus about the interpretation and application of existing principles of the UN Charter;

second, to settle problems calling for a universal solution by means of an agreement.

In this connection, we are thinking of

—environmental protection;

—the use of new communication technologies;

—combating terrorism; and

—preventing drug abuse.

The speedy adoption of a codex of crimes against peace and the security of mankind and of a convention against mercenaries would not only establish solid legal bases for the persecution and punishment of the most serious crimes, but would also have a preventive effect that should not be underestimated.

Third, the more intensive use and—if necessary—establishment of new international mechanisms, with the help of which the implementation of obligations incurred is ensured.

In the field of human rights and thus, of social questions, it is important to live up to the dictate of peaceful cooperation. This requires that peace be consolidated as the indispensable basis for the implementation of human rights. In the practical work of the United nations the connection between political, economic, and social rights should be taken into account.

Mr President, a stable, prospering world needs healthy, mutually beneficial economic cooperation.

There are historical reasons for the existence of inequalities, but nothing justifies the fact that many states of the Third World cannot undergo any socioeconomic development, not least because of unfair international conditions of exchange.

Political Will of All for Cooperative Solutions Needed

It speaks for itself when the World Bank closes its most recent balance sheet with a net profit of $1 billion, and thus got more out of the developing countries that it put in.

The organization of the United Nations can and must dedicate itself to clearly improving the situation. The special UN session on economic questions scheduled for 1990, and the working out of the international development strategy for the next decade are suited to set down priorities for international economic cooperation and for the work of the United Nations in this field. In this connection, the concurrent settlement of the problems connected with the foreign debts of the developing countries is the focal issue.

In this connection, the GDR considers the practical implementation of the "disarmament for development" principle to be most urgent.

And since not only armament but also disarmament and the safe elimination of top modern weapons systems are becoming increasingly expensive, would it not be best for everyone to break the cycle of armament-disarmament once and for all ?

In the interest of a fruitful development of the entire world economy, the political will of all for cooperative and solid solutions is needed.

The same goes for ecological problems. Mankind must not deprive itself of the natural bases for life.

The source of the effectiveness and power of the United Nations mainly lies in the determination and will of the member states to follow the only possible way which can lead mankind into a peaceful 3d millennium, the way of constructive cooperation in all spheres of human life.

Thank you.

Foreign Minister Meets CSSR, Polish Officials

AU0410130089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Oct 89 p 5

[ADN report: "Oskar Fischer Meets Counterparts in New York"]

[Text] New York—The GDR and CSSR foreign ministers, Oskar Fischer and Jaromir Johanes, met for a friendly talk in New York. The two ministers stressed the firm link between their two countries in socialist construction and stated with satisfaction that the joint efforts to comprehensively expand cooperation contributes to increasing the dynamics of social development in both countries. Oskar Fischer and Jaromir Johanes discussed topical aspects of the processes that are under way in central Europe. They expressed the hope that all those involved respect the sovereignty of states and the inviolability of existing borders and that they are aware of their responsibility for the maintenance of stability and progress concerning detente on the sensitive dividing line between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. They affirmed the GDR's and CSSR's willingness to continue to constructively participate in the CSCE process.

On the same day, Oskar Fischer met with PPR Foreign Minister Krzystof Skubiszewski at the Permanent GDR Mission at the United Nations in New York for an exchange of views that was marked by mutual understanding. The ministers stated that their meeting demonstrates their governments' willingness to maintain good-neighborly relations and cooperation for the well-being of the peoples and for the benefit of peaceful coexistence in Europe.

Oskar Fischer and Krzystof Skubiszewski discussed questions concerning current international affairs. They stressed their governments' interest in continued efforts aimed at disarmament and detente. They stressed that the respect for the sovereignty of states, noninterference in internal affairs, and the inviolability of borders must continue to be the basic elements of a responsible European policy. The ministers described the CSCE process as indispensable for the harmonious integration of all parts of Europe into a common European home.

Fischer Meets Albanian Counterpart in New York

LD0410113489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2226 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] U.N.-New York (ADN)—GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer met today with Albanian Foreign Minister Reiz Malile on the sidelines of the 44th UN General Assembly session in New York. The ministers discussed questions of bilateral cooperation between the two states, exchanged views on current trends in international events, and informed one another on developments in their countries.

Oskar Fischer and Reiz Malile underscored the great value of stability while building socialism for the shaping of secure coexistence among the peoples, and opposed the continuing attempts to discredit and eradicate socialism.

Stoph Greets UN Conference on Anniversary

AU0410100589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN report: "GDR Pays Tribute to UNCTAD's Role in Promoting Understanding Among Peoples"]

[Text] Geneva—On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, has sent a greetings message to the secretary general of this organization, Kenneth K.S. Dadzie, which was handed over in Geneva on Thursday [28 September]. Willi Stoph praises UNCTAD as a representative multilateral forum that is capable of solving problems in international relations through businesslike dialogue and result-related negotiations, and of promoting trade between all states, irrespective of their economic and social systems. The anniversary is taking place at a time when a tendency toward more trust in international relations and the readiness for cooperation to promote the finding of a solution to acute global problems is becoming discernible. It is now important to create more reliability, stability, and more predictability in economic relations, Willi Stoph states. The proposal submitted by the socialist countries, which suggests that the United Nations draft a concept of international economic security, is in harmony with this goal. The GDR supports all efforts aimed at the development of an open trade system and at the improvement of the international situation and peaceful cooperation among peoples.

In conclusion, Willi Stoph confirms that the GDR, in accordance with its possibilities, will continue to be willing to make an efficient contribution to the work of UNCTAD and to development within the framework of the tasks that it has assumed within its mandate.

Culture Minister Receives Bulgarian Official

AU0410125489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Oct 89 p 4

[ADN report: "Cultural Relations With Bulgaria Discussed"]

[Text] East Berlin—GDR Culture Minister Hans-Joachim Hoffmann met Georgi Robev, chairman of the Cultural Committee of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, for a friendly exchange of views on Saturday [30 September]. The guest is currently in the GDR in his capacity as the conductor of the famous Obretenov Choir. The ministers discussed the results of cultural relations as well as the preparation of the cultural working plans for the 1991-95 period. The meeting was attended by Petur Mezhdurechki, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Sindermann Presents Anniversary Awards

LD0410064589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1322 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The creation and development of the GDR justified the observation that the first socialist state of workers and peasants on German soil had stood the acid test in the center of Europe. This was underlined by the Council of State Deputy Chairman Horst Sindermann, member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee Politburo, in Berlin on Monday during an award ceremony on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR.

In appreciation of special achievements, Sindermann presented individuals and teams with the honorary clasp of honor of the Patriotic Order of Merit in gold, the Patriotic Order of Merit, the "Star of International Friendship" and the "Banner of Labor" order.

Sindermann thanked those honored for their great personal share in the good record achieved in time for the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. This successful record includes the weighty contribution which the GDR, by the side of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries of the socialist community, had contributed toward the preservation and safeguarding of peace. There was the real prospect to guarantee, especially for Europe, which had been afflicted several times by terrible wars, a future of lasting peace. To this objective the GDR had been committed since its founding.

Honecker Promotes, Appoints Generals

AU0510121789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 Oct 89 p 1

[ADN report: "Generals Promoted and Appointed"]

[Text] East Berlin—On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the GDR, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], chairman of the GDR State Council, and chairman of the GDR National Defense Council, has promoted Lieutenant General Fritz Peter to Colonel General and Colonels Joachim Albrecht, Kurt Brunner, Werner Heining, Bernd Leistner, Hans-Christian Reiche, Juergen Reinholz, Gerhard Reuschel, Erich Stach, Walter Tzschoppe, and Heinz Wittek to major generals, and appointed Captain Peter Miethe as rear admiral.

The ceremony was attended by Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and minister of national defense, Colonel General Fritz Streletz, secretary of the GDR National Defense Council, and Wolfgang Herger, director of the Security Department of the SED Central Committee.

On the same day Erich Honecker, in the presence of Army General Erich Mielke, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister of state security, promoted meritorious generals of the Ministry of State Security, appointed colonels as major generals, and decorated them with the Scharnhorst Order.

Kessler Awards Banner to Civil Defense Groups

AU0410095189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Oct 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Awards for Civil Defense Collectives"]

[Text] East Berlin—Army General Heinz Kessler, GDR minister of national defense, has awarded banners to Civil Defense formations on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the GDR. In this way he paid tribute to the outstanding achievements that these collectives have accomplished in the competition to strengthen the socialist fatherland.

On the orders of the defense minister, the chief of the Civil Defense Main Administration, Major General Kurt Sommer, presented a banner to the Weise formation from Leipzig Bezirk. During a festive parade past the monument commemorating the Battle of the Nations, he praised the high level of commitment of the members of the Civil Defense in protecting the population and the national economy from catastrophe and harm.

Kessler Presents Awards to Army Members

AU0510125689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 Oct 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Awards and Promotions at the Defense Ministry"]

[Text] East Berlin—On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, members of the National People's Army, of the GDR Border Troops, and Civil Defense were praised for their exemplary achievements and the merits they earned over many years at the Defense Ministry on Monday [2 October]. On the orders of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], chairman of the GDR State Council, and chairman of the GDR National Defense Council, Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, presented the highest military award, the Scharnhorst Order and the Fatherland Order of Merit in Bronze respectively, to generals and officers.

During the festive event, he also awarded the militant order "For Merits Earned in the Struggle for the People and Fatherland" in Gold to officers, and promoted officers to the next rank. The minister congratulated those decorated and promoted, and expressed the conviction that they will continue to use all their power to strengthen and protect the socialist fatherland and peace.

On behalf of those decorated, Colonel Guenter Leo confirmed that, through daily stable achievements, they will always reliably fulfill the class assignment that has been set by the working people and their leading force, the party of the workers class. In this way, they want to contribute to preparing the 12th SED Congress in a dignified way.

Loeffler Greets Jewish Leader on New Year

AU0410101189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Congratulations to Jewish Communities on New Year"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Kurt Loeffler, state secretary for church affairs, has addressed the following letter to Siegmund Rotstein, president of the GDR Jewish National Representation:

On the occasion of the New Year celebrations for 5750, I convey most cordial greetings and congratulations to you and all members of the Jewish communities in the GDR.

On indestructible antifascist foundations, our people have established the socialist social order in the form of the GDR, whose 40th anniversary we are celebrating now. Millions of working people have built a stronghold of peace and humanity under the leadership of tested antifascists, and are contributing to further shaping the socialist society with creativity, an abundance of ideas, and confidence. The Jewish citizens have participated in this construction work from the beginning with all their strength, their hearts, and their minds. This is our joint work, this is our GDR.

Indispensable values, "values that improve mankind"—as Albert Einstein described them—such as friendship among peoples, humanity, human rights, and human dignity, as well as solidarity became the foundations of the whole society in this state.

We now have the task of jointly continuing this work, of continuing our constructive policy of peace, cooperation, and dialogue so that the antifascist legacy is fulfilled in the life of all peoples at all times.

In this spirit, dear friend Rotstein, I wish you and the members of the Jewish communities in the GDR creative vigor, health, and personal well-being in the New Year 5750.

Cooperation Agreement Signed With U.S.

LD0510001889 Budapest MTI in English 1850 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 4 (MTI)—Ferenc Somogyi, state secretary of foreign affairs, and Mark Palmer, U.S. ambassador to Hungary, signed an agreement on scientific and technical cooperation between the Governments of the Hungarian People's Republic and the United States of America on Wednesday in Budapest.

The agreement promotes cooperation between the government agencies, academies of sciences, research institutes and universities of the two countries in both basic research and applied research, and envisages common research projects, study trips, conferences and symposia.

An appendix contains stipulations concerning the [illegible] right of intellectual property realized or used under the agreement. Another appendix envisages the establishment and operation of a common fund to be set up under the agreement.

USSR Promises To Fulfill Energy Contract

LD0410051889 Budapest MTI in English 1530 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 3, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Soviet Union's squaring the Hungarian trade surplus of 550 million roubles through extra energy deliveries is out of the question: All it can do is to make up for delivery arrears, said Mr Eduard Koshobuko, deputy head of the USSR trade mission in Hungary, in an interview with ECONEWS today.

Although it is behind schedule at the moment, the Soviet Union promises to have supplied Hungary with the whole of the contracted amount of electricity and petrol by the end of the year.

Under the relevant inter-governmental agreement, the Soviet Union is down to deliver 11 billion kilowatt hours [kwh] of electricity this year, and has already supplied 8.148 billion kilowatt hours of this, Mr Koshobuko said.

It has already made up for 85 million kwh of the 100 million kwh of power by which it fell behind schedule owing to a four-day break in electricity supply in August, he added.

Mr Koshobuko said the short supply of 76-octane industrial petrol and of 92-octane car fuel was caused by production problems in the Soviet Union and affected Western buyers, as well.

Up to October 1, the arrears in Soviet petrol supplies amounted to 44,000 tonnes. The 198 agreement calls for the delivery of 398,000 tonnes. The Soviet party promises to reduce the arrears to 36,000 tonnes by the end of October, to 19,000 by November and to break completely even by the end of the year.

The Hungarian-Soviet trade agreement envisages the supply of 85,000 tonnes of 92-octane car fuel for Hungary. By October 1, the Soviet Union had supplied 45,000 tonnes, instead of the target of 55,000 tonnes.

There are no arrears in Soviet natural gas and mineral oil supplies to Hungary, Mr Koshobuko said. The gas supply target is 5.9 billion cubic metres, and the oil quota is 6.5 million tonnes for the current year.

Mr Koshobuko expressed the hope that the current Hungarian trade surplus of 550 million roubles will dwindle to 170 million by the end of the year, just as planned at the beginning of the year. He admitted, though, that Hungary will have to curb exports to the Soviet Union.

Protest Over Romanian Ban on Delegation's Travel

LD0410192189 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] The Hungarian Foreign Ministry has protested to Romania because Bucharest has not authorized a Hungarian delegation to travel to Arad on 6 October. On the occasion of the 140th anniversary of the execution of the Arad Martyrs [leaders of the 1848-49 Hungarian War of Independence against Hapsburg rule] the government in Budapest put forward an initiative that state, party, and social organizations should participate in the ceremony to be held at the memorial place and that a joint Hungarian-Romanian commemoration should be held.

Bucharest has rejected this, and it was said in the Romanian capital that the Hungarian ambassador is allowed to lay wreaths at the memorial of the Arad Martyrs and that travel by private individuals will not be impeded.

Border Guards Give Weekend Refugee Figures

LD0410032189 Budapest MTI in English 1607 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 2 (MTI)—According to the briefing MTI received from the Gyor Border Guard District headquarters, the outflow of GDR citizens continued during last weekend at Hegyeshalom. In the course of 48 hours on Saturday and Sunday, 2,007 people crossed the border adding to the total of 19,280, who have left the country for the FRG via Hegyeshalom. Altogether 145 people have returned so far, 24 of them during the course of this weekend.

Hungarian-Czechoslovak border stations, such as Rajka, Vamosszabadi and Komarom, were also very busy during the weekend. The number of new arrivals was 3,567, and that of people leaving the country 2,880. Twenty-four people swam the River Danube between Rajka and Esztergom to flee from Czechoslovakia to Hungary, and then to Austria.

Agreement With UNHCR on Refugees Signed

LD0410170189 Budapest MTI in English 1549 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Geneva, October 4 (MTI)—The Hungarian People's republic and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees signed two agreements in the Palace of Nations in Geneva on October 4, 1989. The agreement called settlement of refugees in the Hungarian People's Republic was signed on behalf of the Hungarian Government by Zoltan Gal, secretary of state for the Ministry of the Interior, and the agreement relating to the opening of an office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in Budapest by Ambassador Istvan Varga, and on behalf the office of the high commissioner by Jean-Pierre Hocke.

Following the signing of the agreements, the high commisioner for refugees spoke praising words in welcome of Hungary's support to refugees. State Secretary Zoltan Gal pledged Hungary would do its utmost in future to observe international norms on human rights. The main objective of the Hungarian legislation is to harmonize the international system of norms and the Hungarian legal system. Hungary is determined to have an even more successful cooperation with the high commissioner for refugees in future. Secretary of State Zoltan Gal has also been received by Jan Martenson, deputy general secretary, director of the Human Rights Centre.

More on UNHCR Agreement, Office

LD0510121989 Budapest MTI in English 1127 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 5, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—A senior official at the Interior Ministry spoke on Wednesday [4 October] of a delay in receiving funds requested from foreign governments by the UN High Commission for Refugees to help refugees seeking asylum in Hungary.

The UNHCR a few months ago asked foreign governments to provide Hungary with 5.2 million USD but so far only 1 million USD has been received, Zoltan Gal, state secretary at the Hungarian Ministry of the Interior said on Wednesday in Geneva.

Mr Gal was in Geneva on the occasion of the signing of two Hungarian-UNHCR agreements, one on cooperation with the UN agency to deal with those refugees who wish to settle in Hungary, and the other on the opening of a UNHCR's office in Budapest.

Hungary is having to deal with up to 100 refugees a day from Romania. Mr Gal said. In September 2,600 Romanian citizens crossed the border illegally. Most, about 1600, were of Hungarian origin, but there were also 800 ethnic Romanians and 200 ethnic Germans.

The majority of the non-Hungarians see Hungary as a stepping-stone to the West, Mr Gal added and said that since the sharp increase in the middle of 1987, 3,000 of the 21,000 plus registered Romanian refugees have left Hungary with the necessary Western documents. Most of them went to Canada, the U.S. or Denmark.

GDR-Hungarian Foreign Ministry Hold Talks

Relations To 'Develop'

LD0410205689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1833 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest (ADN)—Consultations between the foreign ministries of the GDR and Hungary ended in Budapest today. The negotiations were led by Deputy Foreign Ministers Harry Ott and Istvan Oszi. The parties reasserted both states' will develop relations further in all fields.

The GDR and Hungary will continue to direct their joint efforts at making a constructive contribution to consolidating peace and security in Europe, as well as maintaining stability on the continent. Both sides stressed the central significance of effective measures for disarmament and confidence-building in Europe.

It was agreed to continue the consultations on bilateral issues. Harry Ott was received by Foreign Minister Gyula Horn for talks.

Minister Ott Departs

LD0410225289 Budapest MTI in English 2054 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 4 (MTI)—Concluding his two-day visit to Hungary, Harry Ott, deputy foreign minister of the GDR, left Budapest on Wednesday. Mr Ott and his host, Deputy Foreign Minister Istvan Oszi, reviewed topical international affairs, the timely issues of cooperation between the two countries, and the possibilities of developing inter-state relations. The sides reconfirmed their intention to contribute by common effort to the stabilization of peace and security in Europe, and the promotion of the cause of disarmament. They expressed preparedness to develop many-sided and reciprocally advantageous cooperation between Hungary and the GDR. Distinguished attention was paid to the cause of GDR citizens leaving for the FRG through Hungary. The sides agreed that they would continue talks on the issues affecting bilateral relations.

Mr Ott met Gyula Horn, foreign minister, and Laszlo Kovacs, state secretary of foreign affairs.

Nemeth Interviewed on Reforms, USSR, GDR

AU0210220189 Hamburg WELT AM SONNTAG in German 1 Oct 89 p 32

[Interview with Hungarian Premier Miklos Nemeth by Siegmar Schelling in Budapest: "Moscow's Concern: Anarchy in Hungary"; date not given]

[Text] WELT AM SONNTAG: What do you expect from the congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] next Friday [6 October]?

Nemeth: I expect from the party congress the complete renewal of the party and the clear victory of the forces of reform and of reformist thinking. I expect a new, modern party, which lives up to the requirements of the multiparty system. I think that only such a party—a party that is renewed in its program, in its organization, and in its leadership—can maintain itself as the determining force in the political arena in today's Hungary. One precondition for this is overcoming the monolithic party unity and clearly delimiting communist ideology and bolshevik methods.

WELT AM SONNTAG: Are you serious about free elections?

Nemeth: I can answer this question with an unambiguous yes. The Hungarian Parliament will probably discuss the so-called cornerstone laws in mid-October, including the new election law and the corresponding constitutional amendment, as well as the party law. Because of the agreement between the MSZMP, the opposition, and the so-called third side which unites the largest social organizations, the government will present the drafts for this—as an urgent request—at the following parliamentary session. In addition to the political guarantees, this establishes the legal guarantees for free elections, in which all forces that are organized on constitutional bases will participate and which are eagerly awaited by them.

WELT AM SONNTAG: What will your election campaign strategy be like for the parliamentary elections in June 1990?

Nemeth: The new party wants to go into the elections as a people's party uniting the broad masses and having a political orientation toward the center left. The focal issue of its program will be the practice-oriented solution of the most pressing social and economic problems. It wants to tackle all of these tasks on the basis of a leftist socialist system of ideas that is also open to other progressive values.

WELT AM SONNTAG: Can your ideas not lead to dramatic developments in Hungary?

Nemeth: During the process of restructuring, which started in May 1988, the government and the MSZMP leadership have always stressed that it is an indispensable precondition of the transition toward a democratic constitutional state that this state is a peaceful one. The social and political forces, which have most different opinions concerning other issues, agree on this question.

At the same time, I am confident that everyone will demonstrate sufficient self-restraint so that they, as a person or a group, will not endanger the existence of society and the nation with their political ambitions. Furthermore, I am also convinced that social peace would be much more endangered, or would be bogged down by failure, if the process of restructuring had not started. In this connection, it is very important that the changes that have to be carried out in the political and economic sphere are not separated from each other. I am confident that by mobilizing all of our reserves and through the massive expansion of international economic cooperation, "dramatic developments," which might have an equally negative effect on the reform processes in Eastern Europe and on East-West cooperation, can certainly be avoided.

WELT AM SONNTAG: How do you assess the founding of the "Movement for a Democratic Hungary," the chairman of which State President [title as published] Pozsgay was elected?

Nemeth: I consider the founding of this movement a favorable phenomenon and I welcomed it in a greetings message. In accordance with its intentions, the movement could help to preserve the peaceful character of the transition and also constitute a forum for the citizens who have not joined a political party or an already existing social movement for various reasons, but who want to do something for national unification.

WELT AM SONNTAG: Can you imagine a split of the MSZMP into a conservative and a reformist group at the party congress?

Nemeth: I cannot rule this out. The good solution would be that, because of the reform platform which will be adopted at the party congress, everyone will decide freely whether he will continue to be a party member or whether he will leave the party because he does not accept the fundamentally renewed platform. In this way the conservative forces, which are incapable of renewal, would remove themselves from the party. I consider unacceptable any compromise which tries to reconcile the irreconcilable, that is, the conservative ideas of the party as the state with the determining characteristics of a leftist socialist party movement in the European sense, by referring to the unity of the party or the forthcoming elections. This kind of unity cannot be stabilized and could considerably undermine the chances at the elections.

WELT AM SONNTAG: Will the Soviet Union watch your reform efforts without interference?

Nemeth: Yes! In the Soviet Union a profound change is underway in every sphere of life in line with the new thinking. The changes mean a break with the Stalinist model and are aimed at developing a new pluralistic model, whose basic goal is promoting the varied developments in the Soviet society and modernizing and raising the efficiency of the economy, which is producing at a low level. The Hungarian reform does not cross the main direction of Soviet restructuring, but is in harmony with it and thus is unanimously supported by the Soviet leadership. The Soviet Union has stressed that it considers our strategic course and our political actions an internal affair of Hungary. Today's Soviet leadership is not only characterized by this noninterference, but it even supports our reform efforts in important respects. It is our determined intention that the system of the functioning of the Warsaw Pact be renewed to the effect

that one socialist country cannot interfere in the internal affairs of another one because of legal guarantees.

WELT AM SONNTAG: Which signals have you received from Moscow?

Nemeth: Clear support from the Soviet leadership and, above all, Gorbachev. However, it cannot be denied that there is also some concern among the Soviet leadership in connection with the processes in Hungary. They are concerned that the conditions might turn to anarchy. We also share this concern.

WELT AM SONNTAG: How can the West help Hungary with its reforms?

Nemeth: We do not expect any help from the Western countries, even though we really are in a difficult situation. We expect specific, mutually beneficial economic relations, which can help us to help ourselves. In addition to economic cooperation, it is very important that we receive moral and political support from the West for our reform efforts. We need this all the more because several countries do not quite like what is going on in Hungary. Finally, it is very important for us that we are not forced to move at a pace which goes beyond our own internal capacity or damages our position in the alliance system.

WELT AM SONNTAG: From the FRG your country has received a wave of gratitude and respect for your decision to open the border to Austria. Will this border remain open?

Nemeth: Indeed, we have received gratitude for our humanitarian actions from numerous sides, from leading politicians and personages of public life. However, I must also say that the large number of letters, in which simple people thanked us, pleased us as least as much. This showed us that this question is assessed unanimously by the political parties and the public in your country. We did what we did not out of egotistic interests or to receive worldwide recognition. We are serious when we say that Hungary wants to become a useful member of the "common European home." We have repeatedly stressed our commitment to establishing a Europe without barbed wire, a Europe in which the borders unite nations and do not separate them.

Hungary has involuntarily slid into the untenable situation which was caused by the high number of GDR citizens who refused to return to the GDR. We considered and still consider this a matter for the two German states. If GDR citizens decide not to return to the GDR of their own free will, then we cannot forcibly compel them to do so. We do not want to change anything about this basic principle in the future. At the same time, I would like to express my hope that the two German states will come to an agreement on this issue sooner or later.

WELT AM SONNTAG: Did you have the Soviet Union's approval for opening the border?

Nemeth: The opening of the border to Austria took place as a result of the sovereign decision of the Hungarian Government. The measure is not directed against other states. It was taken because of humanitarian considerations.

WELT AM SONNTAG: How did you get the courage to take this step, which brought you into conflict with several Warsaw Pact partners?

Nemeth: First of all, I do not think that we would have come into conflict with some Warsaw Pact states just because of the "opening" of the border. The events of the past years have clearly proved—and I think that the public in your country also understand this—that the countries of this region cannot be treated as a unified, monolithic bloc anymore. We see and judge many things differently and polemic is nothing unusual. This is not a conflict per se. We prudently considered the decision and you will certainly agree with me that it would have been a mistake to make a decision that is contrary to the interests of the country and to its domestic and foreign policy just to preserve some sort of mock unity. As a sovereign state we made our decision in a sovereign manner. We did inform our alliance partners, but we did not ask them for permission.

I would like to stress: Hungary does not want to become a transit country which citizens of the various East European countries use as a passage through to the West. This is certainly not in our interest, but also not in the interest of the West.

WELT AM SONNTAG: How can the FRG help Hungary on its path toward reforms?

Nemeth: In many ways. Let us look at the political aspect of the reforms first. We are striving for institutional relations with the various European organizations. I am thinking of the European Parliament, the Council of Europe, and, not least, of the EC. The latter I could, of course, also mention in connection with economic matters.

WELT AM SONNTAG: Do you see specific successes?

Nemeth: If the governments of the West European countries, including your government, support these efforts for contacts, then they support the efforts for political and economic reforms and the forces of reform, as well as Hungary's more complete integration in Europe. I say with a good feeling that we have always been able to rely on the support of the FRG Government and even of the opposition parties for these efforts. This is not only recognized and highly valued by the Hungarian Government, but also by the public in the country. As a specific example I can cite the energetic support by the FRG in concluding the agreement with the EC. This agreement is a good basis for the expansion of further relations with the EC. We want to continue on the path we have embarked upon.

WELT AM SONNTAG: What about economic aid?

Nemeth: We offer business to private and state capital, no matter where it comes from. We want them to come and to invest capital in our country, for a decent profit,

of course. We need money, much money, to profoundly restructure the economy and to establish market economy conditions. What we need are foreign investors of capital. We, for our part, want to do everything to make the country attractive to foreign capital. We have good relations with the FRG in this respect. The German economic and financial circles understand and support our efforts. The value of the annual exchange of goods reaches almost DM5 billion. Thus, your country is the first and most important nonsocialist economic partner of Hungary. If one looks at the entire range of partners, only the Soviet Union is in front of you. If you consider this economic aid, negotiations have been and are underway, strictly on the basis that both sides will profit economically from our relations.

WELT AM SONNTAG: Is it correct that aid was not discussed in connection with the opening of the border?

Nemeth: The economic relations have been established over a long period and through systematic work. Bilateral relations have been good and without problems for a long time. Relations between our countries are influenced by many factors. The so-called opening of the border is only one of many aspects which became particularly important at a specific time. However, this is in no way the decisive factor. We plan for the long term and we do not chase momentary advantages. Concerning the FRG, we are striving for even closer and more varied contacts in the long run.

WELT AM SONNTAG: Can you imagine Hungary becoming a member of the EC?

Nemeth: Both sides should be asked this question, that is, the EC, too. As regards Hungary, it is a central element of our political and economic goals to establish closer ties with Western Europe. This approach has several stages and various forms are conceivable in this connection. The highest form is EC membership. Until we can give a real answer to this question many mutual steps have to be taken.

The EC countries are playing the most important role in our relations with the Western countries. In addition, we are sure that after 1992 the EC will determine Europe's economy even more than today. We, for our part, are trying to take these rules into consideration more in establishing the new legal and institutional system in the course of Hungary's restructuring.,

WELT AM SONNTAG: How fast can you catch up with Europe?

Nemeth: This does not only depend on our intentions, but also on the support we receive from our partners. I would like to stress that we can imagine an organic link between Hungary and the EC only in a way in which our economic interests in the East European region, European security policy, and the function as a bridge are not endangered; Hungary wants to be a bridge between the Western and the Eastern part of a Europe that is to be complete in the geographical sense as well.

WELT AM SONNTAG: What will Hungary be like at the end of 1990?

Nemeth: Today there is no responsible politician in Hungary who could engage in making prophecies, not even for 1 year in advance. However, I sincerely hope that at the end of next year a democratic, political, and economic institutional system will emerge.

Nemeth Envisages Possible MSZMP Split Up

LD0410223289 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Miklos Nemeth does not rule out the possibility that the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Congress which will begin the day after tomorrow may lead to the splitting up of the party. The prime minister who is also a member of the MSZMP Presidium has stated to a Japanese paper, and I quote: We will not conclude a compromise with the conservatives at the MSZMP Congress and, if necessary, we intend to advance the cause of Hungarian democratization through the establishment of a new party.

Pozsgay Discusses Political Objectives

AU0210154489 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 2 Oct 89 p 2

[Interview with Hungarian State Minister Imre Pozsgay by Gerald Lehner: "A Social Democrat as Head of the Communist Party"; date and place not given]

[Text] DER STANDARD: Mr State Minister, are you still a Communist?

Pozsgay: I am a Hungarian and a socialist, I like social democracy. I want to guarantee the political culture of Europe, especially that of the European left. I consider myself a leftist politician.

DER STANDARD: Do you want to establish a party of your own or will a social democrat become the head of a communist party?

Pozsgay: I hope that this old dream of the left will become reality. However, let us be serious: I am optimistic that a new party will develop from the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party at the forthcoming party congress.

For me, the left means in the first place tolerance for all directions. Any absolutism is alien to my nature and to the absolutism of my own direction. I can only envisage elections with several candidates.

DER STANDARD: Do you want to become a Hungarian Salvador Allende?

Pozsgay: Do not say such things. I am a fatalist in this respect: Allende was assassinated. Of course, I appreciate his ideas. However, he was also subject to illusions. Therefore, I can only envisage this role in a pluralist multiparty system.

DER STANDARD: You are considered an extreme reformer. Should the president of the state not be an integrating figure?

Pozsgay: If somebody finds a candidate who is accepted by our "Young Democrats," as well as by the Stalinists, I will gladly make way for him.

DER STANDARD: What will happen if the Communists are crushed in the elections? The Polish comrades have Jaruzelski as their anchor.

Pozsgay: I can say for us that nobody needs an anchor. The Hungarian people alone will decide.

DER STANDARD: Would you guarantee to the Soviet Union that Hungary will not deviate completely?

Pozsgay: As the president, I would only accept constitutional decisions. The Parliament is to decide. On the other hand, Hungary need not be politically disloyal. However, I do not see any obstacles to the development of our sovereignty and autonomy.

DER STANDARD: Willy Brandt stated recently that the Soviet independence movements would result in a setback for Gorbachev's perestroyka.

Pozgay: My opinion is very similar to that of Willy Brandt. It is paradoxical: The people's fronts, whose political objectives I understand well, benefit from perestroyka. On the other hand, they endanger the complete work. The Soviet Union first has to get into its stride. Then the peoples can fight for their own freedom.

DER STANDARD: Shevardnadze says that the West is now trying to destabilize the East.

Pozsgay: Maybe the Soviet foreign minister has reasons for this assumption? I claim that destabilization always comes from the inside, as for example in the case of the Iron Curtain with Austria: Since its dismantling considerably fewer people have wanted to leave our country.

DER STANDARD: You have been invited by Gorbachev. Will you come as a pupil or as a teacher?

Pozsgay: We will talk as partners who respect the sovereignty and autonomy of the respective counterpart.

Pozsgay Addresses Congress Delegates' Meeting

AU2909103889 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 27 Sep 89 p 6

[Correspondent's report: "There Can Be No Political Stability Without A Renewed Party—Imre Pozsgay Among Congress Delegates in Miskolc"]

[Text] "The party should respect the principle of freedom of platform, but there are issues in which this principle has no place"—said Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, member of the Presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], at an aktiv meeting held for the heads of congress delegations from Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen, Szabolcs-Szatmar, Heves, and Nograd counties in the headquarters of the Borsod county committee on 25 September. Imre Pozsgay declared that when a party organization nominates a candidate for congress deputy, the party should unanimously support its future deputy without differences of views, and even against the existing differences of views. The party members themselves should not be the ones to discredit their own nominated delegate. Imre Pozsgay also stressed that he regarded the upcoming congress as decisive for the entire party. This will be the first event organized completely at the party members' will, and the party leadership has a great responsibility now.

Speaking about the political coordination talks, Imre Pozsgay said that the results of these talks contributed to increasing the party's reputation. The MSZMP did not lose its mass basis and prestige at the negotiating table. There can be no political stability in Hungary without the MSZMP or its successor, a renewed party. We need a new and clean socialist party. In connection with this, answering a question concerning his interview for Italian Television, Imre Pozsgay said that he maintained his opinion that, if he is consistent within himself, he cannot be a member of a Bolshevik-style [bolsevizalo] Stalinist party.

Imre Pozsgay also spoke about the congress documents. With regard to the Lessons of Our Historic Way, Imre Pozsgay said that the main role of this document is to enable the party members to decide what things they will continue to accept, and what things they will dissociate themselves from. According to Imre Pozsgay, the role of the Program Declaration is that it will be a means for the party to find its own identity, but it will not be an election program at the same time. Finally, replying to questions, Imre Pozsgay said that he had accepted the nomination for the position of president of the Republic not out of personal ambition, but in the interest of his party, and the party members should also confirm this. In conclusion, Imre Pozsgay declared that he maintained his personal opinion that the MSZMP should withdraw from workplaces because, if it does not do this, the other parties will also have the right to engage in politics at the workplaces.

Government Meeting Retires Workers' Guard Head

LD0410230789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Excerpts] The government has held a session today. Government Spokesman Zsolt Bajnok spoke to Gabor Bankuti. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Bankuti] You debated personnel issues.

[Banjok] The Council of Ministers has decided that with effect from 31 October, it is relieving Sandor Borbely, the national commander of the Workers' Guard, from his office at his own request, with recognition of his merits, due to his retirement.

Csaba Tabajdi has been appointed the government's deputy minister, and entrusted with the leadership of the Council of Ministers' Nationality Secretariat.

[Bankuti] [words indistinct] did you not appoint a new commander of the Workers' Guard?

[Bajnok] Relieving a man from office and naming a successor do not always happen at the same time, I could say. However, I could also say, the government has decided that even if it originally set itself a time limit for this task of December, ideas in connection with the future of the Workers' Guard must be submitted to the government this month, that is October. So, a decision will also be taken at that time. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Opposition Member Comments on Future Policies

AU0310144589 Vienna PROFIL in German 2 Oct 89 pp 58-59

[Interview with Miklos Haraszti, spokesman of the Hungarian Alliance of Free Democrats by Erhard Stackl in Budapest: "Hungary Does Not Need a Jaruzelski"; date not given]

[Text] PROFIL: Imre Pozsgay is regarded as the hero of Hungarian reforms. What do the Free Democrats have against him?

Haraszti: The Western media were wrong about the popularity of a Hungarian once before—I mean Janos Kadar. As in the case of Pozsgay, it was based on the fact that he dissociated himself from even more terrifying forces. At that time, the Hungarians got an idea of the lesser evil, which Pozsgay is using as his basis now. In the past 3 months I saw him at work at the trilateral negotiations (between the opposition, the government, and the official trade unions): He did not give in on any point that would have meant a loss of power for the Communist Party. He is more the saver of communist power than the leading figure of Hungarian democratization.

PROFIL: Hungary's president will be soon elected by the people. What can be more democratic than elections by the people?

Haraszti: The presidential elections are to be held before the free parliamentary elections. The institution of the president is very strong, and during the whole of the next legislative period he would be a counterweight to Parliament, which will have to deal with Hungary's real democratization. The Communists have realized that they will lose the parliamentary elections. The next head of government will not be a communist. Therefore they stick to the last power position.

PROFIL: However, Imre Pozsgay also comes off very well in opinion polls.

Haraszti: His popularity is based on the fact that he is the most important director of the Hungarian media. He is the only politician whose close-up is shown on television for several minutes. He said some magic words in time; for example, that there had not been a counterrevolution in 1956. However, Pozsgay knows that he would not stand a chance after the parliamentary elections, because then he would be the candidate of a party on which history has passed its sentence and which will achieve 15 percent at most.

PROFIL: The largest opposition group, the Democratic Forum, is prepared to hold the presidential elections according to the ideas of the communist Hungarian Socialist Workers Party. Allegedly, the Forum is considering nominating a rival candidate.

Haraszti: Mr Pozsgay was present when the Democratic Forum was established, but we were not. I repeatedly asked the negotiators of the Forum whether the nomination of a joint candidate was possible, but they always firmly rejected this.

PROFIL: Would it not be reasonable to share power for some time for the sake of stability?

Haraszti: This was the analysis of the democratic opposition in Poland and Hungary for 10 years. They talked of the "social contract," which you can now find word for word in Pozsgay's speeches. Subject to the conditions of Yalta, a kind of constitutional monarchy with a communist head of state was planned. However, society would have been entitled to freely organize itself and have real democracy in strictly limited spheres. Meanwhile, we consider this analysis to be outdated.

PROFIL: The apparatus of oppression, however, still exists.

Haraszti: Yes, even if the noncommunist parties are in the majority in the next Parliament Hungary will continue to be a country with powerful bureaucrats, with the same armed forces, and with a political police. However, the economic situation is so bad that we will not permit the slowing-down of democratization. The population will not trust a government in which the Communists are strong. But very tough measures are needed to save the economy.

PROFIL: And the Brezhnev Doctrine does not exist any longer?

Haraszti: The Soviet Union is not dead, but it has lost its ability to integrate Eastern Europe in some power structure, even if its leadership were Stalinist.

PROFIL: How great is the danger that orthodox Communists will gain control of the party?

Haraszti: This is completely impossible because they lack the power for this. They can cause confusion, but they are no longer capable of heading a power coalition. It is not necessary to repeat the Polish Jaruzelski-Mazowiecki model in Hungary. Hungary's geopolitical situation is completely different from that of Poland; there is no need to explain this to Austrians.

PROFIL: Will Hungary's reform communists be able to make their escape into democracy?

Haraszti: The great chance would have been a rupture within the party. We are facing the party congress and I predict that they will stay together. If there were a rupture, the experts of the Communist Party could be employed more freely by the next government. In this case they would be members of one party out of many. However, a communist party which clings to power must not automatically become part of the government.

PROFIL: The role of the reform communists is not so negatively evaluated in the West.

Haraszti: I know that the things that I say contradict almost all Western observers here in Hungary. They regard it as a law of nature that the Communist Party must participate in the transformation. The old, undigested, and dogmatic fear of what the Soviet Union is and what it can do lies behind this. We need not be told this, we experienced it in 1956, 1968, and 1981. However, we have also seen what has happened in the meantime—we do not preach mad radicalism. We are for a peaceful, cautious transition to democracy. However, we do not believe that this means to automatically provide the Communist Party with power positions. We propose to give them the position that corresponds to their share in the votes in the elections.

PROFIL: Why are the Free Democrats striving for a referendum before the elections, calling for the withdrawal of the Communist Party organizations from the workplaces and the dissolution of the workers militia?

Haraszti: No reasonable majority in parliament will be able to afford not to ask the Communist Party to leave the enterprises. Imre Pozsgay promised this step for the time after the elections, but did not get through with it. The point is the time before the elections and slight shifts in percentage points. If the Communists are in the enterprises, the fear of them will be greater and they will be able to achieve 1 or 2 percent more. With their property and the workers militia, which inspire fear, they will achieve some additional percentage points. This is the point. Not a political comeback of the party. The Communists have been hidden in the residential districts for years. Nobody knows whether his neighbor is a party member or not. Only at the workplace, where their power and careers are at stake, do they still profess themselves Communists.

PROFIL: What would be the consequence if the communist organizations had to leave the factories?

Haraszti: This would be the absolute end of the party. It would disappear from Hungary's political map.

Kulcsar Speech Defines State Crime Law

LD2709155189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1510 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Speech by Hungarian Justice Minister Kalman Kulcsar to the 26 September session of the National Assembly—live]

[Excerpts] [Kulcsar] Esteemed National Assembly. The processes of today's Hungary have already forced apart the existing constitutional framework and the evolved form of exercising power. A transition has begun from the bureaucratic, authoritarian, political party system into a constitutional state of a pluralist democratic political system. Both in foreign and domestic politics new phenomena have appeared, a proportion of the earlier priorities re-assessed, and the weight and significance of our increasingly widening international undertaking is noted. This situation creates new tasks and dilemmas for the legislature which are hardly solveable because the legal regulations stemming from the previous legitimacy and the new ones now evolving live side by side. [passage omitted]

Esteemed National Assembly. Let me first speak about the amendment of the Penal Code.

The area of crimes against the state has in effect been left untouched by the penal reform of the 1970s or by the changes which have taken place since. The concept of the presently valid regulations stem from paragraph 3 of the 1921 act on the protection of state and social order. This itself—in comparison to the so-called Szemedy Codex, the fifth law of 1878, and its liberal social protection concept—already has introduced a totalitarian state security penal code system. The so-called Order Act as it was called in 1921, has created a system of approach, and institution has survived the changes of history. The modification of the social and political system and the solutions which led to the currently existing penal code have superseded the old laws with essentially the same content. This regulation adjusted to the needs of an authoritarian, monolothic state power which knew only one policy and whose fundamental interest was the conservation of the status quo, not only in ensuring political interests prevail, but also curbing or ruling out the possibility of criticism.

It is no accident that the state security penal code of 1950 also stayed within the framework evolved at that time. Therefore I do not need to particularly justify that the charges under antistate offences are not in harmony with our endeavours to create political pluralism. [passage omitted]

Antistate crimes must be conceived as those which harm or endanger the political system laid down in the principles of the constitution, the sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the state. Therefore, attacks against the leaders of social organizations or state organs without public law rights cannot be evaluated as crimes against the state.

The draft has broken with the existing party-state concept in which the leading officials of the party are the trustees of the state as a legally protected object. Given a consistent separation of state and social organizations, including political organization, attacks against a functionary of a social organization cannot be viewed as a crime against the state. [passage omitted]

After all this, let me outline the more important decrees of the bill amending the penal code. Instead of the crime of conspiracy, the bill incorporates two new charges into the penal code which serve to protect the constitutional order: These are alteration of the constitutional order by force, and conspiracy against the constitutional order.

The charge in these two crimes show similar features; however, there is a basic difference in that changing the constitutional order by force could take place without the establishment of an organization. Thus besides the conspiratorial and organized gathering of forces, the crime includes all those activities which aim to change the constitutional order by force or by threatening force. The typical form of its perpetration is the taking over of power by armed forces, that is a military coup.

The term armed forces, in this instance, does not mean the armed forces as described by the Defense Law, that is the People's Army, the border guards, but armed persons or any armed groups established for this purpose.

Conspiracy against the constitutional order is committed by someone who establishes or leads an organization, or participates in the activity of an organization whose purpose is to change the constitutional order of the Hungarian state by force or by threatening force. In the case of both crimes, the penalty is adjusted in accordance with the danger posed by the behavior to society.

Regarding conspiracy against the constitutional order, the penalty for the person establishing or leading the organization is more severe than for those who only participate in the organization. The penal code includes penalties against attempted conspiracy.

According to the present regulation, rebellion is a mass disturbance directed toward overthrowing the state, social, or economic order of the Hungarian People's Republic. The bill changes this fundamentally corresponding to international practice and to the traditions of the Hungarian criminal law.

According to the new regulation, rebellion is a mass disturbance which is not generally directed against the constitutional order: Its direct aims is to impede the National Assembly, the Presidential Council, the Supreme Court, or the Council of Ministers in practicing their constitutional sphere of authority by force or by threatening force.

Thus this crime is viewed as influencing the activities of the highest people's representation, of state power, and of the courts by force. [passage omitted]

According to the present situation, espionage is committed by a person who obtains, collects, or passes on information which can be used to the detriment of the Hungarian People's Republic, with a view to this information being passed on to foreign governments or organizations. The present formulation makes possible the application of the criminal law in too wide a sphere. As a result of changes in international relations, Hungarian citizens come into contact en masse with foreign economic, cultural, sporting, or similar organizations. The begining of foreign capital investments and the establishment of joint enterprises make the flow of information unavoidable and necessary.

Thus, spying can only be evaluated by taking into consideration real international relations. Obviously, it cannot be desirable that no information reaches abroad about the state, its organizations, and society. This kind of isolation today is inconceivable.

Therefore, taking into consideration the changed conditions, the charge of spying had to be fundamentally transformed. [passage omitted]

According to the proposal, a person will be charged with spying if he is a member or an agent of a spying organization and if, in this capacity, he carries out intelligence work. It is not necessary that the information qualifies as state secrets or official secrets. It is enough if it facilitates the activity of foreign intelligence organizations and widens their knowledge. However, intelligence work has to be directed against the Hungarian or another allied state. Regarding the danger posed to society by this activity, the bill provides for severe penalties both for conspiring to and for actively engaging in such activity such as, for example, offering one's services for intelligence work.

However, offering one's services or undertaking intelligence work cannot be penalized if the perpetrator reports this to the authorities and discloses the nature of his relations with foreign elements before embarking on any illegal activity.

Paragraph 15 of the penal code deals with protection of state and service secrets. This refers to crimes against the integrity of the state administration, the judiciary, and public life. The more serious breach of state secrets occurs when the state secret becomes accessible to a foreigner. However, the danger of society is significantly higher if the aim of handing over a state secret is to utilize it against the Hungarian People's Republic. In view of the anti-state intention, this must be punished as if it is a crime against the state.

The evaluation of the action is similar if a military secret is released with the intention of making use of it against the Hungarian People's Republic. The bill incorporates this in the sphere of antistate crimes under the title: handing over state or military secrets.

Esteemed National Assembly, among the political crimes incitement and its legal regulation raised the most

numerous criticism in recent times. This was no accident because this crime, which exists in practice as do court proceedings under for example, most recently the so called (?crystal case)—moves from time to time into the focus of public attention. Vehement political criticism arises primarily from the fact that the crime of incitement has the closest possible link with freedom of speech and expression of views. The participants in the increasingly sharpening political struggles may feel threatened, in large measure due to these regulations. It is obvious that in its present regulation of incitement the penal code wanders absentmindedly into an area where it has no right to be. It has criminalized the private sphere to such an unjustified extent.

Incitement with (?an antistate intention) is distinguished from the crime of harming the community. The latter is regulated by the penal code under the heading of crimes against the public order. However, the demarcation between the two kinds of crimes is uncertain in practice. Determination of the aim of fuelling hatred is hardly possible; it is contradictory even in principle, and has led to inconsistent solutions in most cases.

The draft took as a point of departure that such an act harms the public calm as well as the common feeling by its very nature; therefore, it may be excluded from the realm of anti-state crimes.

Still, the complete decriminalization of such an act is not desirable. In the transition period it is particularly important that political struggles take place in a democratic manner and within a civilized framework. Incitement to hatred and abuse can have no place in public life. The new offense in the area of crimes against the public order, the 'incitement against the community' is intended to provide protection against this kind of abuse against public life.

According to existing regulation, incitement to hatred or the use of degrading or offending remarks fits the crime of incitement or offense against the community if this takes place because of the socialist conviction of the individual or group. According to the new draft's approach, incitement to hatred against individual groups of the population—regardless of how the group is organized—is forbidden under any circumstances. On the other hand, abuse against the group does not primarily harm the public order, and, therefore, it should be punished, not under the 16th paragraph of the Penal Code, but as a crime against the person.

If the crime is committed against the person because he is a member of a group which is legally protected, the crime fulfills the criteria of "incitement against the community." Otherwise, the regulations regarding crimes against the person such as libel or offense to honor must be applied.

However, the narrowing of the scope of the Penal Code prevails not only via the modification of existing crimes but also by abolishing punishment for several kinds of behavior; These include causing damage, attempted murder, and other crimes against the socialist state. [sentence as heard] [passage omitted]

Crimes against other socialist states occur in practice through spying against the allies of the Hungarian People's Republic. The new offense of "spying" provides appropriate protection against these. On the other hand, it is generally unjustified and unnecessary to punish crimes at the expense of other socialist countries; in effect, it is nothing but the principally incorrect embodiement in the Penal Code of the ideological principle of [socialist] internationalism. The definition of crime against the socialist states or anti-state crimes cannot be determined in an internationally acceptable manner—the regulation displays a different character in each country. Therefore, the Penal Code protection must be ensured not via a general offense but through international treaties which make possible a differentiated evaluation. [passage omitted]

GDR Refugees Continue To Arrive at Embassy

LD0410230889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] GDR citizens intending to emigrate to the FRG are still coming to the FRG Embassy in Warsaw. After registration, they are being taken by buses rented by the embassy to Red Cross centers organized [words indistinct] near Warsaw. Some people who want to leave are coming directly to these centers, where they are waiting for the chance to depart. Today unofficial sources estimate there are about 450 people who want to go.

'600' To Leave 'This Evening'

LD0510152789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] The Polish Foreign Ministry has confirmed that the 600 GDR citizens who are at the moment at the FRG Embassy in Warsaw will soon be leaving Poland. Their special train is to leave Warsaw this evening.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Comments

LD0510144589 Hamburg DPA in German 1404 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Excerpt] Warsaw, (DPA)—Foreign Ministry Spokesman Stefan Staniszewski said today in Warsaw that the emigration of the refugees in the embassy was decided on by both German states. Poland, on whose territory the events took place, is interestd in a quick solution, but had neither caused the refugee problem nor could it make decisions on the matter. Poland is not interested in becoming a transit country for GDR refugees. [passage omitted]

Bush Seeks $200 Million in Economic Aid

LD0510082189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] President George Bush has invited President Wojciech Jaruzelski and Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki to pay a visit to Washington at a date convenient to the Polish side.

Yesterday it was made known in the White House that President Bush would apply to Congress to grant Poland a grant of $200 million, which forms the U.S. contribution to the stabilization fund of $1 billion which Poland is trying to obtain from Western countries. That gift, however, is dependent on agreement on the stabilization plan between Poland and the IMF.

Walesa Invited To Participate in U.S. Congress

LD0410142789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Lech Walesa, who is to visit the United States in the middle of November, has received an invitation to participate in the session of both houses of the U.S. Congress. U.S. history knows very few instances of honoring a person who is not the head of state or government in such a way.

Commentator Notes CIA-KGB 'Cooperation' Pact

AU0410145389 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 30 Sep - 1 Oct 89 p 7

[Commentary by Ryszard Bankowicz: "What the Spade Is Called"]

[Excerpts] Mrs Thatcher has been exchanging views with Gorbachev, Shevardnadze and Baker have fixed a provisional date for a summit meeting, and citizens of the GDR are crossing the borders of a fraternal country to migrate to the West en masse. However, to my mind, there is another report that seems to eclipse all these news stories from last week: The Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] and the KGB have signed a cooperation agreement. The two police and intelligence headquarters, whose names have for decades elicited fear, condemnation, or simply distaste, depending on where they were mentioned in conversations conducted in hushed tones, now realize that they should cooperate to achieve common goals, such as those connected with the struggle against terrorism or drug smuggling.

One feels compelled to write that this is a sign of the times. That is certainly true, but it would be rather a weak conclusion, because it stops one from having to think about the nature of the changes that are taking place in the social awareness of the nations that, to use the convention, constitute East and West, and about what element of this social awareness lies behind the great international process that has, as one of its side-effects, caused film directors to abandon producing films about red agents who seek to place the free world under Moscow's control or about emissaries of the American military-industrial complex who cunningly try to extract secrets about our economic successes.

In my opinion, the essence of these changes comes down to a real appraisal of the facts, to seeing things as they actually are or, to use the English expression, to calling a spade a spade. In our country, the spade appeared as an element in political rhetoric, where it was used to stuff supposed time-honored truths into people's heads. Today, this approach is being replaced by the objective presentation of the facts, the presentation of assessments that impose obligations on no one but their authors, and that is why they should be honest, persuasive, and not based on trust. Not only have the "red agents," "reactionary colonels," and "fascist generals" disappeared, there is also no longer any place for tendencies to distort truthful images of the world by using colors that conceal reality and the labeling of fixed categories that separate good from bad, right from wrong, and illuminating visions of history from irrevocable laws of history. [passage omitted]

So, for these reasons, the CIA's Colonel Smith can now reach agreement with the KGB's Colonel Ivanov and the

feeling that this aroused in the capitals of the countries that they had to fly over to meet was one of satisfaction and security rather than concern.

Balcerowicz on IMF, World Bank Talks

AU0410131289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Sep 89 p 5

[Text] PAP Washington—Before his departure from Washington, Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz summed up the results of his talks with Western finance ministers, representatives of the IMF and the World Bank, and representatives of the U.S. Government and Congress.

Asked about his assessment of the talks, the deputy premier replied: "As regards the IMF and the World Bank, I have the impression that there is a readiness to cooperate with the Polish Government and swiftly elaborate an adjustment program. The IMF is of the opinion that the adjustment program must be real and strong. In this instance it is not a matter of preferential tariffs. In the long-term, the application of tariff reductions would not be in Poland's interest. Difficult problems must first be solved. The first of these is the war against inflation. We have a joint understanding with the IMF that there are no easy ways out for Poland."

Talking about the new situation that arose during the dialogue between Poland and the IMF, the deputy premier stressed that the Polish side had not begun its discussions from absolute zero. "Nonetheless, we have presented a somewhat altered economic proposal. At the moment these economic proposals are only in their broadest outline.

"On the basis of the talks that were held, we are under the impression that our program was favorably received as a starting point for further elaboration. This also assumes our readiness to take decisive steps will actually be reflected in practice. If this does not happen, then all our hopes of reaching an understanding with the IMF and the World Bank, and the financial credits that this implies, not just from the IMF, but from the West in general, will be dashed."

Deputy Premier Balcerowicz stressed that there was a definite correlation between what we could expect to receive from our Western partners, and the extent of the decisive action taken by the Polish Government and the level of maturity shown by Polish society. "The West is apprehensive that there could still be a repetition of what happened in the 1970's. That is to say, it fears that foreign aid will not be utilized as one of the components of a much larger program of reforms—will not be used as one of the elements helping to restructure the Polish economy—but will instead be used up as a substitute for a reform program. These fears can be dispelled by straight facts—facts which we can create by our common actions—and not by mere promises.

"If subsequent events undermine the faith in the determination of the Polish Government, they may ruin our chances of securing foreign aid. On the other hand, there is the slowly maturing realization that the Poles cannot do three things at once, namely, eliminate inflation, restructure their economy, and increase their service sector and their indebtedness."

Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz stated that the sole mechanism on which a lot of other possibilities were dependent, was the agreement between the Polish Government and the IMF. "Poland is determined to conclude such an agreement as soon as possible, and it realizes the need to take decisive steps, regarding internal stability and a broad program of institutional change. But we need a little time to secure such an agreement, and the economic situation in Poland is grave. Thus, financial aid is also required as soon as possible. This aspect was discussed during the meetings I had in Washington."

The deputy premier further underlined the need to maintain production and continuity of supplies to the market, as well as the need to avoid further market imbalances. He was convinced that these talks would bear fruit. Nevertheless, the fundamental package of financial aid and credits was tied to the question of the adjustment program, and this program would be extremely severe. There is no possibility of Poland receiving preferential aid.

Minister Discusses Possibility of RFE Bureau

LD0410133189 Warsaw PAP in English 1256 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 4—Chances for opening a Polish Bureau of Radio Free Europe were discussed by Minister-head of the Office of the Council of Ministers Jacek Ambroziak, Executive Director of American International Radio Services Bruce D. Portar, deputy executive director of this organization Marc G. Pomar and Director of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty A. Rous Johnson.

Rakowski on Party Struggle for 'Hearts, Minds'

LD2709230189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party, by Magdalena Wieniarczyk; place, date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Wieniarczyk] The solemn meeting inaugurating the political training year in the party is a traditional occasion, but perhaps one should not tackle this traditionally, because from what was said in this room it seems that the training ought to go in the direction of struggle, the broadly understood struggle for principles, for ideals, and finally the struggle for power.

[Rakowski] I think that the people who have gathered here, the lecturers [lektor] of the Central Committee or voivodship committees should both today and tomorrow concentrate above all on winning hearts and minds for the ideal to which they are attached, that is, the ideals which have grown in the soil of socialist programs. I confess frankly that I would like to leave aside the struggle for power at the moment, in the sense that the struggle for power must go on by gaining hearts and minds. One cannot decree the struggle for power or gain it through regulations or application of force. This is a very productive field of activity because, I think, in Poland, socialism, irrespective of the fact that it produced some negative phenomena in some spheres, that socialism is deeply in people's hearts and minds. This political training here, which also exists in any party, should strengthen this connection and this conviction.

[Wieniarczyk] You said that it was a very productive function and role but an extremely difficult one. Do you not think that today it will be extremely difficult to convince people and to gain not just supporters but even people sympathetic to the party?

[Rakowski] Madam, if I were a parish priest, then I would have to reply that a priest does not always get expected results, in spite of pronouncing the gospel truths which ought to attract people because they are made up of good words and morally worthy ideals. Now, returning to your question directed to me as a party member, I would like to say that such chances exist, but it is also the matter of which arguments are used and the skill in using facts, and also, and I consider this very important, the ability to comment on events, because the events are described in detail in the mass media today, but the fundamental issue in gaining people and new party members and supporters is how comments are made—what does a given phenomenon mean, why did this or other fact appear? This is the key to the political struggle. We are often just beginning to learn this political struggle.

Rakowski Speech Calls for PZPR Unity

AU0410130889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Sep 89 pp 1,2

[Text] PAP—Speaking at the opening of the new academic year of political education studies at the headquarters of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] in Warsaw on 27 September, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR, said: "We need to be far more realistic in our estimations of the reformist wave in the party and society. The reformers are in the minority. The vast mass of producers are strongly attached to the old order, which, apart from the now well-known deviations, provided a better stabilization of life and the feeling of security. Conservatism is the dominant sentiment in many societies throughout the world. We have the historic opportunity to create a movement that will prove that one can build socialism by means other than the ones that were employed in the past—with the strength of the whole left. I take pride in the fact that it is the Polish left, Polish communists that have brought about the situation where party egoism has been harnessed to the realization of other, higher goals.

"The 11th party congress is now looming before us. There are many people calling for it to take place as soon as possible, and preferably even before the end of this year. This is quite unrealistic. The congress cannot take place any earlier than the middle of next February. The Central Committee plenum will receive the members of the congress commission on 3 October. After that we shall have to prepare the party for the congress, draft new electoral regulations, and review the various proposals. All this must be done in consultation with the party within 2 weeks. We then have to prepare a draft statute and program. All the above cannot be done within 2 months. I want every party organization, no matter how small, to send in its suggestions. Their suggestions will be analyzed and researched by our special working teams.

"The key issue, however, is the unity of the party. Are we in a fit state to reach the opening of this congress as one party? There may in the meantime emerge other alternative parties. But this will mean our irreversible demise from the political stage, and this will imply not a change of system, but a change of the political order in Poland. In such a situation we shall be completely defenseless against our adversaries. Unity must be preserved at all cost. We need a rich intellectual movement and all those other elements that enrich the dynamism of the party. But all these necessary prerequisites must not threaten the party's unity. The struggle boils down to this: Will Poland remain socialist or will it return to capitalism? We must not allow any self-destructive urges to surface, and we must not avert our eyes from the mounting dangers. We have to be ready to make political alliances. This is not opportunism, because the all important question is: Socialism or Capitalism?"

Party Daily Views 'New Shape' of Party

AU0510100589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Oct 89 pp 1,2

[Jerzy Majka editorial: "When Will the Congress Be Held?"]

[Text] The question: "When will the congress take place? Is now being heard more often than other questions. The party stance in relation to the policy program announced by Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government was elaborated in the first part of the 15th Plenum that took place on 18 September. The Central Committee, which is due to meet on 3 October, should be in a position to supply the answers to the question concerning the date of the congress, as well as answers to several other allied questions.

The recent opinion poll carried out among party organizations will enable the Central Committee to inform itself of the main opinions that predominate in relation

to a number of key issues. This will also indicate which of these opinions is likely to gain general approval.

The prevailing atmosphere within the party is still being heavily influenced by the feeling of bitterness after the defeats—the electoral defeat, the collapse of the old coalition, and the new alignment of forces in the government. This breeds a spirit where emotion and grief ousts cool, rational, thinking and calculation. The party was psychologically and politically unprepared for all that happened. That is why it is now so painfully ruminating on the changed situation, and slowly adapting itself in order to function in completely novel and diametrically altered conditions. It is unable to shake itself free from the ruling party mentality. Many people still think that everything depends on the party, and when the real truth dawns upon them the effect can be shattering.

Emotions and bitterness are generating questions like: Who is to blame? Who is personally answerable for the defeats? Accusations of another round of "the musical chairs game of the party hierarchy" are being repeated with increasing regularity, even though in today's world, party nominations and recommendations have a bitter aftertaste. Many comrades do not perceive the dangers that have appeared in the last few months. Calls for heads to roll are silencing the more profound questions on the reasons for the economic and political setbacks—setbacks which are not only inherent to Poland. Similar trends have also appeared in other socialist countries.

This state of affairs leads one to conclude that we are at each others throats. This is what happened to past Polish and international workers movements on many previous occasions. Our political energies are being deflected—by external whispers—at an internal settling of accounts within the party, instead of being mobilized against our opponents. Let us not forget that the personal criticisms being leveled at the leading figures of our party during the past few months, have been initiated and orchestrated by circles who do not wish us well.

Against the background of these gathering internal clouds, the only ray of optimism is provided by the spontaneous activity of an increasing number of party circles which seeks to draw radical conclusions from all that has transpired, and to frame a new shape for the party—a party that will be able to gain significant influence among society, in the new climate of political pluralism and parliamentary democracy. This is how the Central Committee, meeting in the first part of the plenum assesses these signs of revitalized activity in the party. The Central Committee has announced its support for the further development of lateral party structures and other initiatives which seek to elaborate their proper viewpoints which they shall present at the party congress. The Central Committee has invited the representatives of these circles to contribute to the preparations being carried out by the congress commission.

It is important, however, that none of these new conceptions or orientations should receive greater preference than they really deserve when one considers them from a rational, sensible, and sane viewpoint—a viewpoint which reflects the reality of the situation we find ourselves in. I confess that I am highly suspicious of all those people who cry: "Everyone else thinks so too" and who thereby think that they can transform such an exclamation into an acceptable argument. During the television program "Open Studio," Professor Kazimierz Kik declared with authority that the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] would be dissolved at the next congress, and that in its stead there would arise a new social democratic party. When for added emphasis he declared: "We shall see to it"—in my opinion he transgressed the accepted conventions of any democratic party, even of a social democratic party. In the pre-congress discussion, everyone has a right to present his opinions, whatever these may be. But nobody has a right to prejudge what the congress will resolve to do. Even the most noble aims do not justify the means used.

There is no other contemporary issue which is more crucial to the preservation and the strengthening of the social and cultural gains of socialism, than the preservation the PZPR's unity and the defense of the party against fragmentation. Our party—apart from the National Trade Union Confederation—is the main guarantor of this heritage and the most important organized force of the Polish left. We must create the regulatory framework to enable the party to function within all programmatic levels and we have to elaborate a mechanism that will enable us to reach consensus in matters which are essential to the party's future policy programs. The preparations for the congress give fertile conditions for the shaping of such practice in the future.

The preparations for the congress will not take place within a closed circle. The party, despite its current pressures and its clear weaknesses, is still the only significant force that "Solidarity" has to reckon with. "Solidarity" cannot turn a blind eye to the party's position when it is shaping and implementing its policies. The PZPR is the main barrier standing in the way of the change from the party's past monopoly to a monopoly of the forces that are allied with "Solidarity."

That is why some "Solidarity" circles are attempting to influence the course of events in the party and weaken it. They are ready to support any action which may fragment the party. Several days ago in GAZETA WYBORCZA, Piotr Wojciechowski wrote: "there is no doubt about it that we also exert an influence on the decisions of the party rank and file, its apparatus, its leadership, and its ideologues." One cannot allow oneself the luxury of forgetting such aspirations. The parliamentary elections showed that these are not idle words. We have to take into account the real danger posed by such intervention and infiltration, and we must create effective barriers that will prevent this from happening.

Within the party, there is general acceptance of the need for changes and reevaluations related to the party's program, its political line, and its regulations. It is a

matter of fundamental changes and not of minor retouching. Many of the formally binding principles have now lost their rationale. Some of these even act as a brake on the required changes.

There have also been calls for changing the party's name. I think this requires a pragmatic approach. What will be the pluses and minuses of such action? One of the arguments supporting a change of name may stem from the desire to have the name identify in a better way the aims and the character of the party.

Let us not delude ourselves. I have come across the view that says that by changing our name we shall cut ourselves free from the compromising and bad past. I do not believe in such magic. Moreover, I believe that it could be dangerous to cut ourselves off from our roots. A tree without roots dies, and sooner or later people will try to return to their roots.

When will the 11th Congress take place? Everyone seems to be convinced that this should take place soon, and there have been many calls that this should happen not later than the end of this year. Many reasons are put forward for the haste. The resolutions of the 10th Congress did not foresee the extent of the changes that eventually took place; the changes that we need to effect within the party have to be taken at congress level; and the sooner we hold a congress the better. These are all quite logical and understandable reasons.

Nonetheless, alongside these rational reasons runs the strong belief in the magical force of the congress, and a belief in a successive breakthrough. It is naive to think this way. No breakthrough in Poland will ever come about during mere discussions—no matter how eminent the discussion.

I personally think that the 11th PZPR Congress should take place quite soon. This is not to say that it should take place immediately. The results of the congress will be all the more accurate if it correctly gauges the contemporary Polish reality and is thus better prepared to elaborate a program and political line from these results, adapting the structures and its principles of action accordingly.

The change in the form of political forces in Poland are now easily distinguishable. Nevertheless, as regards this government's intended action, we have to rely more on words than facts. At this stage we can only guess at the direction that the "Solidarity" ship will steer. It would be advantageous for us to know exactly.

I see no advantage in calling a congress which, called much too early, finds itself grappling with symbols and a political situation that is still in a state of flux. Nor do I see any advantage in calling a congress which, called much too late, finds itself completely superseded by the state of the political process in the party and the party's surroundings. I hope that tomorrow's meeting of the Central Committee will produce a target date for the congress.

8 July 'Movement' Viewed as Start of 'Good Work'

AU0410123189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Sep 89 p 4

[Piotr Rzadca article: "The July 8 Movement—What It Is, What Its Aims Are"]

[Text] The date 8 July has no symbolic meaning whatsoever. On that day, quite simply, there was a meeting, held at the initiative of the Warsaw University Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Committee, of all interested representatives of academic and nonacademic spheres from Katowice, Krakow, Poznan, and Warsaw. These people were brought together by their profound concern for the current state of the PZPR, its position in Poland, and by implications for the future of the Polish left.

Further and larger meetings then took place. There were also frequent visits by various delegates of the movement to all parts of Poland, with the purpose of provoking a debate on the movement's outline program, and in order to gain supporters and allies. Later, there came official pronouncements on various party matters.

All the above was reported in TRYBUNA LUDU, but it seems that some of our readership are not acquainted with these reports, and we still receive enquiries asking about the July 8 Initiative, and its aims. Today, I shall report further on this movement.

Leszek Jaskiewicz, first secretary of the Warsaw University PZPR Committee, and the chairman of the Initiative's Coordinating Committee, has said—as have other members of the movement—that the intention of the movement is to rapidly bring about the 11th Party Congress, so that it may still be held before the end of the current year. They want to ensure that delegates are democratically selected, and they want to supervise the way that the congress proceedings are conducted. All this is intended to lead to the emergence of a new party of the Polish left. "The new party must be ready to act within the parameters of a multiparty political system and must be based on the principle of free elections in a system of parliamentary democracy. Such a party still has to be created. The way to do this is through the 11th PZPR Congress. This congress must assess the whole field of PZPR activity, and must be able to transform itself into a founding congress of a new party based on democratic socialism. Such a party has to be open to all representatives of the Polish left, regardless of their past organizational allegiances." This is the stated position of the July 8 Initiative.

The circles of people affiliated with the Initiative do not seek to cause a split within the PZPR—this was clearly stated in a recent press conference given for party journalists. The Initiative considers that the best intentions of the party leadership, the party base, and left wing circles in society, have to be harmonized with each other. One of the ways that will lead to this, the movement states, is to create the "necessary conditions that will facilitate an open and comprehensive discussion, before

the congress meets, on the basis of competing ideological, programmatic, and political-organizational platforms that will be submitted by party and organizational circles, and left-wing movements outside the party."

This was said in response to the announcement of the party poll (21 September), emphasizing the earlier view that there must be direct selection of delegates for the 11th congress, and that "party members must have the right to vote for delegates who represent other political-ideological programs...."

The July 8 Initiative is a grouping of the younger and the middle generations, of 30- and 40-year olds, although it also counts experienced party members among its ranks. Recent meetings have been addressed by Professor Jerzy Wiatr, Editor Ludwik Krasucki, Professor Tomasz Nalecz, and Doctor Zbigniew Siemiatowski.

The 15 September meeting in the Warsaw Steelworks saw the presentation of an outline program platform. Doctor Kazimierz Kik is the leader of the team that drew up the outline program. This can only be a discussion platform program—because there is still debate on this subject, not only in Warsaw circles, but also nationwide throughout the party organizations—in order to gauge the extent of interested opinion, to present members with the contents of the program, and gain adherents for the aims of the Initiative. It has also been announced that the drafts of congress documentation prepared by the Initiative will be made available in the first half of October.

From this preliminary sketch of the nature of the new party, I have selected certain statements that, in my opinion, are very representative of the general line of thought of at least some of the movement's members. I wish to make clear that these are past statements which may have already been further evolved by their authors.

"The new party has to be a party that supports social progress.... and appeals to those social forces that represent the social focus points in this process of progress." "This party must be based on the principles of democratic socialism as propounded by the great social democratic parties of Western Europe." " We propose giving the new party a form of sociopolitical movement...." "Today, in the period of creeping de-ideologization of sociopolitical life, we should attempt to identify socialism with progress, and take this as our pointer for our proposed system." "The new party will only constitute a fragment of the wide Polish left, and will not aspire to an exclusivity or hegemony in the camp of the left."

If the authors of the draft congress documentation are true to their word, we shortly hope to be in a position to publish in TRYBUNA LUDU the fruit of their labors—a program no doubt more definitive in its terms than their previous draft outlines, simply for the reason that this program will have come from a consideration of the true reality of our current situation. This event will also be the signal for the real discussion to ensue.

What are we to think of the July 8 Initiative? Judging from the calls coming from the various party circles, it would now be more appropriate to call it a movement. What is absolutely certain is that such a movement is essential, even if its conceptions often meet with critical and even very highly critical opinions. Such a movement is essential, because a new party will not be created "from the top." Given such a situation, should we only have words of praise for the movement? Is this what the prime movers within the movement are looking for? I think not. Not so very long ago the leadership of the movement expressed its concern at the possibility of being "tamed." This fear is unfounded. They will have to confront their own political conceptions with other streams of thought that are currently flowing through the party, outside the party, and with the other parallel programs which nowadays are springing up beside the July 8 Initiative.

We have passed and we are still passing through a very difficult period in the life of the party. If we are witnessing the real revitalization of programmatic thinking in many spheres, then it signifies that we have not surrendered to the feelings of frustration and hopelessness. The meeting between many political orientations, and the discussion among such orientations in order to arrive at the common denominators, is creating a tangible democratic opportunity of creating a new party of the left. Seen from this point of view, the July 8 Initiative has begun the good work.

PZPR's Kubasiewicz on Future of Party

AU0410134089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Sep 89 p 3

[Article by Janusz Kubasiewicz, member of the PZPR Politburo and first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee: "A Party of Many Thoughts But One Purpose"]

[Text] A debate on Poland's future is taking place in many milieus. As a party aktivist, I encounter views from people in various social circles. I observe with pleasure that the voice of primary party organizations is resounding with increasing volume in this debate.

What sort of Poland are we to have? Certainly a democratic, pluralistic, just, and law-governed one. We all dream of a Poland with an efficient, modern industry and agriculture, a Poland that will master the challenge of the scientific-technical revolution and the science of the 21st century.

How should this be achieved? Certainly not by one group of people exploiting another, and certainly not by reducing broad sections of society to poverty.

I appreciate the role of foreign aid. However, I think that basically we are condemned to save ourselves with the aid of our own, national strength, our own work and productivity, and our own steadfastness and honesty. The future quite simply depends on us.

The party of the social left will have a major role to play in the process of overcoming the crisis. This will be a party of working people who draw on the traditions of the Polish working movement and of progressive social thought; a party which, at the same time, takes into account our national traditions and aspirations.

It is not possible to create a clear political identity for a modern left-wing party without first creating a vision of the Poland toward which this party should head and indicating the objectives and values for which this party should fight and for which it should attract working people, including broad intelligentsia circles. An identity for the party may be defined by an ideological declaration of the 11th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Congress, which would single out this party from the other political forces. This declaration should be valid until the threshold of the next century.

When working out the party program, one should bear in mind that Polish society is strongly attached to the traditional values for which the Polish left has always fought (free education and medical care, the right to work). Therefore, a modern left-wing party stands a chance to succeed if it presents a socioeconomic program that combines the moral values of socialism with an efficient market economy.

The program should contain new solutions guaranteeing internal party democracy. A broader political platform should permit the preservation of party unity, with a simultaneous respect for differences in opinion. I think various social groups would appreciate the possibility of airing their views legally within the party, for the party should reach our with its program to all social classes and groups who live off the fruits of their own work.

I imagine that the party program should also be our election program every time there is an election. After all, our strength and influence on the country will depend on the degree of society's support for us. Therefore, those who vote for us will be the social milieu that is most closely linked to the party. It is these people whom we must win over. It would be good if some of them felt greater kinship with the party and took part in social and political life at all times, not just during elections. A large group of party sympathizers is the best guarantee of election victory. There are many communities in Poland that are not linked to any party. It is these communities to whom we should get through and whom we should encourage to form associations and participate in the work of the political clubs.

Membership of the milieu of party sympathizers should depend on a broad left-wing outlook; in other words, a support for social justice, the honor of working people, democracy, and the rule of law. There is room in the ranks of our sympathizers for representatives of various orientations—members of the Christian and peasant left, and others.

Great importance should be attached to interpersonal relationships in the party itself—to mutual trust, support for fellow comrades who present interesting ideas or are struggling with difficulties, and concern for human affairs. Internal party solidarity, common concern for our affairs, friendly assistance, and a warm climate in and around the party are required. The point is that membership of the party should be attractive, that party membership should be worth something, and that the atmosphere in the party should be attractive, especially to young people.

Joining the party will be encouraged by the possibility of freely expressing one's thoughts, taking part in frank discussions, presenting one's views, and fighting for their acceptance. Party authorities should consist of holders of various views, in the right proportions. For that to happen, genuine democracy inside the party is necessary.

More and more party circles in Warsaw city and voivodship are joining the debate on the future of our party. Many milieus have come up with their own visions of the party. The first to publicize their views were the members of the "8 July Initiative." This "Initiative" has met with a lively, though sometimes mixed, reception in Warsaw work places and in Poland as a whole. It is interesting to see how the ideas of this group will evolve during further debates. There is also talk of an alternative "Initiative of Warsaw Work Places in Aid of Party Reforms." The need for lateral contacts and grassroots activity which shapes a modern party of the left is considerable.

We in the Warsaw party committee believe it is necessary to encourage uninhibited debates, a free presentation of various concepts, and the formation of various initiatives for the sake of a new left-wing party. Hence the idea to create the Warsaw Precongress Forum. We want this forum to permit open discussions for all interested parties. This is meant to be encouraged by weekly club meetings. The achievements of these meetings will be recorded in a document, which will express the stance and political options open to the Warsaw community.

Party cells are also becoming more energetic. The district party committee of Wola has organized a District Social Forum.

Interesting initiatives are also appearing in Ochota and Praga-Polnoc. The debates at the Wola forum lead one to conclude that the party must find new ways of social dialogue urgently.

The present opinion poll on the preparations for the 11th Congress will be very important for the present stage of debates. The results of this poll should encourage the rapid working out of a draft party declaration, program, and statute. I think these drafts should be submitted to general debate inside party organizations. Each primary party organization should have the practical possibility of contributing its own comments and proposals to the congress draft documents.

I am in favor of major changes to the party's election rules. I think it would be good if the selection of congress delegates, and perhaps Central Committee members, were more public.

I also think that the period of preparations for the 11th Congress should be used in order to hold genuinely broad and uninhibited debates on the subject of the congress draft documents. Such meetings would assess these documents and suggest improvements. This would create the impression that a new party is emerging through the desire of the majority of its members.

The participation of left-wing sympathizers in these debates, held in party organizations, would be particularly valuable. The involvement of members of political clubs, trade union activists, activists in youth and social organizations, and the authors of various political platforms would be most welcome. This would enrich the political thinking and social base of the future modern party of the left.

15th PZPR CC Plenum Continues in Warsaw

Rakowski Attends Plenum

LD0310142789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] In Warsaw, the second part of the 15th Plenum of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee [PZPR CC] is taking place. Mieczyslaw Rakowski, who greeted the invited members of the Presidium of the Parliamentary Floor Group, representatives of party organizations from large work enterprises and also the so-called horizontal structures, recalled that the 15th Plenum had commenced the process of practical preparations for the 11th Party Congress. Between 19 and 27 September a survey was carried out relating to preparations for the 11th Congress. The results of this survey were presented by Leszek Milier. The decided majority of party members express themselves in favor of the possibility of directly choosing delegates for the Congress, for the granting of the right to vote and the right to be elected to candidates of the PZPR, for the transformation of the PZPR into a new party, with a change of statute and program, and also in favor of the discussion before the Congress being participated in by Party groupings of the left.

Party Congress Set for 27 Jan

LD0310194789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] The Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee passed a resolution today on deciding to hold the 11th Party Congress on 27 January 1990. A Central Congress Commission has also been appointed. The elections of the delegates to the congress will be conducted in accordance with new rules by 20 December.

Socioeconomic Situation Statement

LD0310234589 Warsaw PAP in English 2225 GMT 3 Oct 89

["Polish United Workers Party Central Committee Statement on Socio-Economic Situation"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 3—The Central Committee notes with concern the deteriorating socio-economic situation in this country and the rapidly accelerating tempo of inflation. High price rises, falling production and insufficient supply of numerous goods of essential significance for the population pose a threat of a further income gap and of a dramatic deterioration of Polish society's living standards.

The Central Committee voices concern at the fact that the deteriorating economic situation mainly affects those employed in the socialized economy, those whose remunerations come from the budget, and labour veterans.

The Central Committee recommends that the Socio-Economic Commission of the Central Committee should urgently examine the current socio-economic situation and present a stand in this regard."

PAP Report on Plenum

LD0410015889 Warsaw PAP in English 2340 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 3—Setting of the date of the 11th PUWP [Polish United Workers Party/PZPR] Congress for January 27, 1990, appointment of the congress commission, adoption of statements and stands were the most important outcome of the second part of the 15th PUWP CC [Central Committee] Plenum held here today.

Preparations for 11th Congress

PUWP CC First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski opened the debates attended also by representatives of party organizations from biggest enterprises from all over the country and of horizontal structures and initiative groups formed in recent months.

Rakowski stressed that the 15th Plenum has started the period of preparations for the 11th Congress.

Like at the first part of the 15th Plenum debates, also today the beginning of the meeting could be observed and by foreign correspondents accredited in Poland.

The plenum heard the information by member of the Political Bureau, PUWP CC Secretary Lezsek Miller on results and conclusions of the poll on the principles of electing delegates for the 11th congress (we move the abridged text separately).

Twenty persons took the floor during the discussion. Nearly all of them expressed hope that the period of preparations for the congress will be conducive to releasing organizational and programmatic initiative.

Class and Workers' Character of Party

CC member, first secretary of PUWP Factory Committee in "Victoria" colliery in Walbrzych (southern Poland) Stefan Paterek proposed to univocally define class and workers' character of the PUWP which should no longer claim a right to represent the whole of the Polish left.

The party should be first made reliable for its own members, only then can it gain social reliability, stated scientific worker at the Social Sciences Academy, representative of the "July 8 Movement" Kazimierz Kik. He also proposed to choose delegates to the congress in a direct way basing on competition of lists representing various programmatic trends within the PUWP.

CC member, OPZZ leader Alfred Miodowicz denied that OPZZ trade unions compete with the PUWP in any way and considered as untrue the information that trade unions that do not join the OPZZ are being formed in enterprises.

CC member Zofia Grzyb stressed that a reformed party should discard managing, putting labels of troublemakers or oppositionists on all those who nurse different opinions, that it should seek allies through its programme, activity and authority.

Party Unity

CC member, first secretary of the PUWP voivodship committee in Lublin Andrzej Szpringer considered the unity of the party as the essential issue. He proposed to initiate movement for a congress of the Polish left to be held shortly after the 11th PUWP Congress and which would bring closer strategic aspirations of the new Polish left while respecting autonomy of all its streams.

Representative of the "July 8 Movement", scientific worker at Warsaw University Tomasz Nalecz expressed the conviction that at its 11th Congress the PUWP should make self-critical assessment of its whole activity and close it in a respectable manner. The congress should next transform into a founding congress of a new party of democratic socialism.

CC member Jan Glowczyk focused his attention on economic issues underlining, among other things, ineffectiveness of a mechanical transfer of market, capitalist economy rules onto the current Polish reality.

CC member, academic teacher at the Jagiellonian University Hieronim Kubiak argued with the thesis of the unity at all cost. Let us not be afraid of pluralism at the left, he said, it is only an illusion that we get weaker in that way.

CC member Waldemar Swirgon said that the central issue for the party is the question of power, ways of its exercising, problem of struggle to gain or recapture it.

Plenum's Decisions

The Central Committee adopted a resolution on the convocation of the 11th PUWP congress and a statement on the current socio-economic situation (we move the abridged texts of both documents separately).

The central congress commission was appointed. Its composition will be presented after its first plenary meeting.

Adopted was also the 15th PUWP CC Plenum's stand on the party's major tasks till the 11th Congress (the text of the stand will be published at a later date).

The Central Committee accepted Marcin Swiecicki's resignation from the function of PUWP CC secretary following his appointment by the Sejm to the post of minister for foreign economic relations. Marcin Swiecicki will remain PUWP CC member.

In a secret ballot alternative political bureau member, first secretary of the PUWP voivodship committee in Wroclaw Zdzislaw Balicki was elected CC secretary gaining 169 votes from a total of 178.

At the end of debates Mieczyslw F. Rakowski referred to the most important issues touched upon in the plenary discussion.

Rakowski Stresses Need for Polish Party

LD0410103989 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] The moods in the party are such that here, in the lobbies, a joke is circulating that you are not the first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee but the last secretary of that party.

[Begin recording] [Rakowski] Maybe in the sense that there are proposals for the party to be transformed at our congress, and for a new phase to be opened in its development, in the sense of accepting a new program, a new name. Maybe in this sense that joke is going round the lobbies.

[Unidentified Correspondent] What did the party members say in this questionnaire? Are they for the creation of a new party?

[Rakowski] The majority is for a new party being created. In any case, all the questions which we put to the party members point to—rather the replies—the party being an authentic reformatory force, and also that its members are involved in a social and economic reform. I personally am very pleased with these results, as this supersedes the view being spread around that our party concentrates forces which are not keen on the reform, or are also conservative. I consider that result to be splendid from the viewpoint of implementing further policy by the party on all questions connected with the

transformation of Poland, and with the construction of a new economic and social order. It is a very encouraging phenomenon for me.

[Correspondent] But there are also other views. Professor Kubiak in his speech today said that no one needed the party, and it should really only think about who it is only going to be necessary for.

[Rakowski] Prof. Kubiak's speech was unusually interesting; however, I do not share the view that no one needs the party. In my opinion the party is necessary for many of my fellow countrymen. What is more I draw the following conclusion from the experiences which I have gathered in the last 2 months as a first secretary of the Central Committee: The party has made a deep mark on the awareness of our society, on the national awareness, even the outlook of Lech Walesa in the last program—Replies to 100 Questions—when he spoke about the party was very interesting for me. It confirms in essence my observation that the party forms a permanent element of Polish reality, and I consider as untrue to say that no one needs it. I stress once again that this does not mean that I was not satisfied or quite simply enraptured by the speech of Prof. Kubiak, who as always is original and has many very pertinent and interesting observations. [end recording]

PZPR's Wiatr on Broadening Party Unity

LD0410110989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 3 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] The second part of the 15th plenum of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee opened in Warsaw today. [video shows meeting] [passage omitted on plenum proceedings]

One of the most important tasks discussed at the plenums was how to maintain the unity of the party until the 11th Congress, how to overcome the centrifugal processes which can now be observed in the PZPR. [Video shows PZPR official S. Wiatr, identified by caption]

[Begin Wiatr recording] We now regard unity, itself, more broadly than was accepted previously in the system of real socialism. We do not restrict the concept of party unity to narrow ideological frameworks, the violation of which was regarded in the past as dissent and was punished by the party control bodies. Unity means that all the forces and trends which come out for social progress, justice, equality, all the forces defending the fundamental values of socialism should find their place in the party. I consider that it is essential to maintain unity, although losses are inevitable, so that all forces which come out from the positions of socialism are able to withstand the ideological and political threat to socialism as this threat undoubtedly exists in Poland.

Central Committee Secretary Balicki Profiled

LD0410021789 Warsaw PAP in English 2358 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 3—Newly elected secretary of the PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] Zdzislaw Balicki, 59, is an economist by education. Till 1983, the editor-in-chief of GAZETA ROBOTNICZA (WORKER GAZETTE) in Wroclaw. Between 1980-81 the chairman of the committee for radio and television. In 1983, elected first secretary of PUWP voivodship committee in Wroclaw.

A Sejm deputy in the years 1964-79 and in the Sejm of the 9th term. Between 1980-82, deputy member of PUWP CC and since the 10th Congress, a member of the Central Committee. In December 1988 elected alternate member of PUWP CC Political Bureau.

General Staff's Uzycki on Polish Defense

AU0410105089 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 29 Sep 89 p 3

[Interview with General of Arms Jozef Uzycki, head of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces, by Tadeusz Mitek: "The Essential Capability—Equal Security"—date and place not given]

[Text] Defense topics, including military doctrine, have been raised in the military press and other mass media organs for quite a long time now. Various views have been expressed. Unfortunately, however, they have not always been dictated by concern for national security. It was this that prompted the following conversation with General of Arms Jozef Uzycki, head of the Polish Armed Forces General Staff.

[Mitek] How should one interpret the formulation of a new military doctrine that is described as defensive? Does this mean that the previous doctrine had an offensive character?

[Uzycki] I would like to stress once again that Poland also did not have any aggressive intentions when the previous doctrine was in force. The highest goal of the Polish People's Republic [PPR] always was and remains the defense of the vital interests of the nation and the Polish state. The goal is one of guaranteeing security, the right to live in peace, independence, sovereignty, and the inviolability of our borders.

However, the paths to the attainment of this goal are changing. Previously, we believed that the fundamental guarantee of national security was provided by a numerically large Army that is capable of launching an immediate attack on an aggressor and defeating him primarily on his own territory. Besides, the other side thought along similar lines. As the international situation provided few grounds for optimism, the forces on both sides grew numerically and developed in qualitative terms.

At this point, I would like to stress that qualitative improvements in weapons specifications resulting from the technological achievements of one of the sides often forced the other side to seek "compensation" in the form of an increased number of weapons. In addition, as a result of geographical factors and the doctrine principles the forces of individual states and coalitions developed in very different ways. This is what gave rise to the disparities and asymmetries that are being widely discussed today and are often interpreted as a reflection of offensive concepts of armed struggle.

[Mitek] It soon transpired that this was a road that led nowhere. Further steps along it would only result in increased tension, cause the arms race to spiral, and produce enormous concentrations of armed forces.

[Uzycki] This is what was behind the idea of reversing this line of reasoning. Greater security does not mean more weapons and forces. Greater security means, above all, extensive use of political instruments, more mutual confidence, and, as a result, reducing weapons and forces to a level that excludes the possibility of large scale offensive operations being commenced.

We are coauthors and advocates of the realization of this very idea. This is borne out by the far-reaching disarmament proposals that Poland, among others, has played an important role in initiating and championing. I would just remind you of the widely known Jaruzelski Plan, the Polish initiative to reduce weapons and increase confidence in Central Europe. Moreover, these are not just declarations. Without waiting for a response from our Western partners, we are continuing to take appropriate action, and this is well known.

We have voiced our peaceful intentions and disarmament initiatives since the first years after the end of the war. This is something that is not remembered by everyone and tends to be particularly forgotten by the generation of Poles born and brought up in peace.

That is why I think that we should highlight the historical dimension in further discussions on defense issues, and acquaint people with the political and military background to the defense principles and the Polish defense interests that arose at that time.

[Mitek] What attests to the defensive character of our military doctrine and how credible is its content?

[Uzycki] I will give a simple answer. The best proof is that we have lived in peace for almost half a century. This fact must cause every thinking person in the East and in the West to think. It must prompt the question of why this "aggressive communist bloc," as we were described, which possesses an "enormous" army and an enormous militarized infrastructure, has not exploited its "crushing" superiority? What is it waiting for?

First, we have never had and do not have any intention of launching invasions and we do not make any territorial claims. On the contrary, while being in favor of partner-like cooperation, we want to respect the principle of equal security while maintaining a minimum defense capability. These principles gave rise to many disarmament proposals and our active participation in shaping the principles of international coexistence contained in the CSCE Final Act.

Second, the superiority that we are supposed to enjoy is exaggerated by the selective comparison of its incomplete components. It is true that the Warsaw Pact has, for example, more tanks and artillery pieces, but it is also true that NATO has more strike aircraft and larger naval units.

I do not have to explain that in the event of combat, tanks will not be doing battle solely with tanks, or aircraft with aircraft, and that is why all comparisons of strength have to be comprehensive and have to take account of other relevant factors.

I would also add that, as we know, our state's military doctrine also covers other sphere such as politics, economics, and science in addition to the military sphere.

[Mitek] Although such an approach is wrong, the latter is normally considered the only gauge of a state's defense policy. This could also lead one to the dubious conclusion that the political and military spheres of military doctrines would appear to contradict each other. Efforts to prevent war are being announced on the one hand and defense preparations are being made on the other hand.

[Uzycki] This just seems to be a contradiction. In fact, our efforts in both spheres are directed toward the same goal and shape each other. When we achieve more positive results in the political sphere, dialogue is more frank and businesslike, and when there is less tension and there are fewer threats, it becomes easier and cheaper to ensure state security.

The basic principle of our policy, as Army General Florian Siwicki, the minister of national defense, said, "is the maintenance of our Armed Forces solely at the level that is essential to satisfy real defense needs."

We are restructuring our units in line with this principle and eliminating the offensive components, and we are unilaterally reducing the number of our units and eliminating significant quantities of weapons. We are concealing neither facts nor figures about the state of the Polish Armed Forces nor plans to reduce them. We are opening up our firing ranges and barracks, inviting observers to exercises, and we are prepared to allow inspections on request.

We are actively involved in the Vienna negotiations. Is that not sufficient proof? I think that it is primarily up to our partners in the West to make an assessment. We have honest intentions and we are not concealing anything.

[Mitek] We have been talking about Poland and Polish military doctrine. At the same time, we are an important member of the Warsaw Pact. Is that essential?

[Uzycki] Political-military coalitions are not an invention of recent times. The idea that population groups or states should unite has survived centuries and coalitions have emerged wherever interests converged and wherever there were similar problems that were difficult or impossible to solve on a one-to-one basis.

That was the case in the past and that is the case today. The two world wars that have occurred in the 20th Century have shown that the conclusion of alliances is inevitable. What matters is whether alliance commitments are reflected in practice. The 50th anniversary of Hitler's invasion of Poland calls to mind this role and value of alliances. We have drawn conclusions from that tragic experience. Today, we are in alliance with our neighbors, with states that are disposed favorably toward us, including a great power.

At this juncture, I would like to stress that membership of the alliance is the result of a completely voluntary decision made by a sovereign state, the product of an assessment of the political and military situation and the threats stemming from that situation.

I also think that the articles that have appeared thus far have failed to treat European military realities adequately. It is true that there is a high level of social awareness regarding the possible effects of war and excessive quantities of weapons, but Europe still lacks what could be unreservedly called a state of peace. That is because real peace is also political peace, economic peace that is based on cooperation that is not hampered in any way, as well as social peace, and a feeling and strengthening of common European ties.

We still have a long way to go before we arrive at peaceful coexistence in that sense. The divisions, mistrust, lack of tolerance, and desire to dominate, which have accumulated over the years, continue to make themselves felt and have their advocates. As long as the NATO bloc exists, as long as disarmament initiatives are not realized, our membership of the pact accords with the Polish raison d'etat and is a guarantee of independent statehood and a peaceful existence for our nation.

[Mitek] General, the subject of threat and the forms that it can assume has featured prominently in discussions, and views on the level of threat that exists differ. How should this be appraised and understood?

[Uzycki] That is true. The degree of external threat to state security is surely one of the most complex of problems and that is why it gives rise to controversy when it is discussed. Doubts and questions arise whenever defense issues, equipping the military, or military service are discussed. Why do we need all of this? Does it not cost too much? Does everyone have to receive training? Does training not take too long?

Statements are also made that imply that a definite improvement in the international situation ensures that we will have lasting peace. However, reality provides rather less cause for happiness. To acquaint readers with the truth rather better, I would just remind them that the question of threat should be viewed within a broader context, as the roots of threat reside in the political and economic spheres.

As we know, wars are born in people's minds. While it is true to say that the classic definition of war has not been rejected thus far, one nevertheless often hears it said that wars do not always have to be waged by military means. A theory of "war without war" has even been invented. The application of this theory by its authors is more than just tangible.

The improvement in the international situation is pleasing. This is paving the way for realism and confidence. The reduced level of political confrontation has diminished the threat of war and the threat that armed forces will be used to settle disputes, but it still has not altered the state of these forces in the West.

Unfortunately, too little is happening in the strictly military sphere to make it possible to lay down arms and sleep peacefully. The opposing bloc is too strong. It has too many weapons and troops close to Poland.

A significant part of those forces are highly mobile and could be fighting on our territory in the first few days of a war. I am thinking of airborne forces, marine units and their air support, or the so-called rapid deployment forces.

In addition, one cannot be indifferent toward concepts of strategic use of the capabilities that have been accumulated. They betray a disturbing number of signs of an offensive kind.

NATO staffs are also generous with resources for training. We find the large scale fall exercises particularly disturbing. They are conducted on the territory of almost all of Western Europe and involve military formations that include as many as 300,000 men.

While following the debate that is taking place, I sometimes get the impression that we provide the readers of our press with too little readily comprehensible information on what are real facts. I am far from inclined to engage in scaremongering, but I think that we are obliged to make realistic appraisals and calculations.

[Mitek] This prompts the following question: If, in accordance with the doctrine, defense is to be effective, what should its characteristic features be?

[Uzycki] Well, we certainly will not be building a Maginot Line on the Odra and the Baltic. History, which I perhaps refer to too often, shows that those who defended this position felt comfortable, but it did provide much benefit to those who were to be defended.

We are preparing to conduct our defense in conjunction with our allies and to occupy an appropriate place in this operational and strategic formation in the central European theater of military operations.

We accord air defense the maximum amount of attention. This is because today's forms of air attack are a particularly dangerous and mobile instrument of warfare. Strategic attacks can be launched on facilities all over the territory of our country.

The defense of Poland's coastline is equally important. Landing operations can be executed on almost the entire length of the coastline and those can effectively assist operations by ground forces coming from the west and acting in conjunction with airborne forces.

We intend to organize a deep form of land defense that exploits all the features of Poland's terrain so that this defense is highly effective. We have not forgotten about maneuvers and active operations that are aimed at routing invading enemy land forces. This can take the form of counterattacks and counter thrusts, launched with greater or fewer forces from our own or allied territory.

There is one more characteristic feature of defense, the defense that takes place at home. I think that the national aspect of defense should receive more attention in the debate. Many of us still remember the wartime operations that took place in Poland. However, half a century has passed since then, and our country has changed and the weapons used in battle have changed. The civilian population will feel the effects of such operations more than before. It will be the object of attacks and might suffer casualties that are equal to or even greater than those of the Armed Forces.

[Mitek] Does our Army satisfy the requirements of defense sufficiency? In your opinion, what should the Army be like?

[Uzycki] It should, above all, ensure that an aggressor can be repulsed. That means that the Army has to be modern, well equipped, well trained, and well led, and—this is particularly important—it must have support in the form of a well organized infrastructure that is integrated with it. However, this does not mean that it has to be the equal of the enemy in size, because, as I already mentioned, no country is able to ensure its security by itself, especially as the potential enemy might be a coalition.

Let us stay on the subject of the Polish Army. The principles of our doctrine favor defense. Activities of this kind are more effective. The military knows that this also entails many dangers, if only because it provides the enemy with greater initiative.

One can also detect fears in the discussion. This should come as no surprise. For many years, in view of the experience of World War II, we have assumed the attack is the best form of defense and that is also true. So, we are looking for a golden mean. We are introducing universal structures that permit the organization and conduct of defense, as well as, the execution of various kinds of counterattack operations varying in scale.

How big is the Army to be? Most military experts who write on this subject, and this is understandable, favor a strong and modern army. This is because the size of the Army depends directly on the strength of the enemy, but it also depends on what the country is capable of economically. As we know, the economic capabilities are not very great, and that is why we are reducing the size of the Armed Forces and seeking greater defensive strength in qualitative and organizational factors. This lends credibility to our intentions. However, this does not mean that we can lay down our arms. The Armed Forces' responsibility for national security remains a duty of the highest order.

It cannot be an army of the militia kind, nor can it be a small professional army. Concepts of this kind have emerged in the discussion, and they are nothing but a attempt to copy the example of countries that differ completely from Poland. A professional army is very expensive. A militia army, on the other hand, can only be considered once there is universal disarmament.

[Mitek] National defense is not solely the responsibility of soldiers: It is a responsibility borne by all citizens. What is the extent of the citizen's responsibility?

[Uzycki] The main task of the Armed Forces is to conduct direct combat operations designed to repulse enemy attack from land, sea, or air and to do so within defensive operations conducted by the Warsaw Pact formation, as well as, the execution of tasks connected with the immediate defense of the territory of the country. These are understandable and obvious tasks that apply both to the Armed Forces and to society.

However, other components of the defense are not obvious to everyone in the same way. This is also something that is seldom or too superficially talked about in the discussion.

A state's ability to defend itself also depends to a large extent on the level of defense awareness of its citizens. This is an exceptionally important fundamental element of the system and one that is, unfortunately, subject to shifts in opinion. Public opinion research findings indicate that public feeling has recently been marked by complacency and a rather carefree attitude. This is visible in the doubt that there is about the need to increase commitments connected with national defense.

Young people, who are not completely familiar with the military and political situation, tend to hold such views. However, too little is being said to explain to citizens of our country what defense tasks they have; to explain to citizens that there is a need to acquire skills that can be used in defending the country, defending citizens' homes and those dearest to them.

Economic potential plays a major role in the shaping of Poland's defense system. It forms the basis of Poland's defense capability. Its comprehensive development, harmoniously linking social and defense objectives, serves to consolidate every component part of the state's defense system.

Let me add that a proper state of internal security is a no less important part of the state defense system. Any disruptions here have a direct impact on other components of this system, and affect its cohesion and functioning. In particular, such disruptions may reduce the efficiency of mobilization and prevent a trouble-free buildup of the Armed Forces and the country's smooth transition to a state of war.

Getting to the crux of the matter, let me just mention article 4 of the law on the general duty to defend the PPR. According to this law, all Polish citizens fit in terms of age and health to fulfill the general duty of defending the PPR are obliged to attend military lectures, perform military service, perform civil defense, attend defense training, serve in militarized units, undertake alternative service, and render services for the sake of defense.

I hope that further debate will bring home to society both the need to fulfill these duties and the ways of doing so. Therefore, I ask the readers of ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI and everyone to whose hearts the country's defense is dear, to share their thoughts. After all, the country's defense is our joint civic duty.

[Mitek] Thank you, Comrade General.

OPZZ Rejects Amendments to Wage Law

LD0110000789 Warsaw PAP in English 2158 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 30—The Executive Committee of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ rejected today both variants of the government bill on amendments to the law on indexation of wages of July 31, 1989.

This amendment, replacing general indexation with compensatory one, would deprive most employees of the payments due to the indexation of pay following price rises in the 4th quarter of 1989, the meeting said.

The stance adopted by the committee said that the proposed amendment to the law on indexation will not improve the difficult situation in the country.

The law on indexation of July 31, 1989, guaranteed the payment in October of concrete sums that would compensate for the price rises only in part. The amendment to this law, urgently proposed by the government, will deprive the majority of the employees and their families of this money. Thus, it will undermine the sense of the indexation in the form advocated by the solidarity. It will also break the principle that forbids to make retroactive laws.

The amendments to the law on indexation proposed by the government will freeze the wages of the majority of the employees while the prices will grow, they will block pay rises due to better productivity, which will result in further decrease of production, and they also overlook the necessity to keep revalorizing the old age and disability pensions and also social benefits.

The social effects of these changes will affect only employees of the socialized sector, without the slightest restrictions on the private sector's freedom to increase its incomes, the statement continued.

For the above reasons, the OPZZ Executive Committee cannot accept the proposed amendments to the law on indexation.

In the conditions of high price rises and in the light of the already announced further price hikes, the OPZZ executive Committee demands that the government undertake immediate moves protecting the living standards of workers and old age and disability pensioners. In tune with the binding law on indexation, we expect that the government, as it has been announced, increase the fringe pays compensating for the hike of prices for food to make them correspond to the actual rise of prices.

The OPZZ committee appoints a special commission authorized to negotiate with the government on the law on indexation and appeals to the government to swiftly start the talks, the stance says.

Miodowicz Views Pay Restrictions

AU0410151889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Sep 89 p 1

[Piotr Lapa report: "Miodowicz At the TRYBUNA LUDU Discussion Club 'MeGaWat'"]

[Text] If we have unemployment in Poland, then the National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ] will create a trade union for the unemployed people, and it will do so very quickly, stated Alfred Miodowicz at the TRYBUNA LUDU Discussion Club "MeGaWat" situated by the Belchatow Electricity Generating Station.

"Unemployment is not a calm way out of the crisis" continued Miodowicz. "Nor can the state budget be saved by the sale of state property. This would be analogous to selling off one's own furniture, and who of you gathered here would agree to that?

"That is the reason why we are warning against this concept—just as we counseled against indexation at the 'roundtable'. Who will now deny that we were not right?

"Our life was accompanied by the philosophy of keeping the foot on the brake pedal, but because of the falling production we should be accelerating. Compensation for price increases is not the same thing as an increase in wages. The OPZZ is in favor of eliminating all restrictions on wage increases, from 1 January 1990. Better work demands better remuneration. Only this approach will give our economy its much needed forward impetus.

"Why are we against the partnerships? Because for the most part they are nonproductive. They enrich themselves through acting as intermediaries. Additionally, if they incorporate parts of state property, it suddenly transpires that the asking price for factory premises works out to cost less than a camping chalet. We have

names of directors who have taken similar decisions, but we shall wait until they are "discovered" by the Supreme Chamber of Control.

"Why am I in such good mood, when—as the colleague from 'Solidarity' said—I should take responsibility for all that is happening in Poland?

"Humor is one thing, but let us talk facts. We only came into existence in 1984. Is this not true? How much time did we really have to influence the economy. Think about it. We have scrutinized the actions of every successive government since that date. As a result of our actions there arose the principle of joint responsibility. We did not flinch from accepting this responsibility, and defended the standard of living of the working people. How can this now be twisted round and used against us?"

There were many more questions put to Alfred Miodowicz. He answered them and participated in the general discussion. These questions ranged from the Polish United Workers Party, the July 8 Movement, and cooperation with "Solidarity", to the subjects of his last talk with Minister Kuron.

The meeting at the Discussion Club finished at 2200. The guest had to leave for Warsaw. Other members of the club and the participants of the discussion did not disperse and the debate continued.

Government Rejects OPZZ Stance

LD0310090889 Warsaw PAP in English 2203 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 2: The Council of Ministers considered with attention the OPZZ (All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions) executive commission's stand of September 30 on amendment of the indexation law which rejected the government's draft, the Government Press Bureau announced today.

The government agrees with the statement that progress should be sought in greater production and supply of goods to the market. It requires however radical reforms. They are included in the government's economic programme to be presented in coming days.

One of the basic assumption of the programme is stifling of inflation. The amended law on indexation proposed by the government is designed precisely to that end. The government is aware that fighting inflation brings hardships to society but there is no other way to overcome the Polish crisis. Maintaining of the hitherto indexation mechanism would not be right. The strongest workers' groups, that have already gained higher wages, would profit from the solution while the weakest ones would suffer.

Indexation is a necessary evil but acceptance of the form favoured by the OPZZ would in a short time mean collapse of the state financial system and as a result of home budgets in turn. [as received]

Aware of the necessity for immediate action, having acknowledged the trade unions' stands on the proposed changes: positive one on the part of Solidarnosc and negative one of the OPZZ, the Council of Ministers resolved to submit the government's draft to the Sejm, the Government Press Bureau's statement said.

Socialist Party on 'Dogma of Privatization'

LD0110170889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Text] At a meeting chaired by Senator Jan Jozef Lipski, the Polish Socialist Party Supreme Council passed a resolution on certain dangers in reforming the Polish national economy.

Inter alia we read therein: The Polish Socialist Party, expressing itself in favor of the full equality of rights as between ownership sectors, judges that the dogma of socialization until recently expounded by the communists ought not to be superseded by a dogma of privatization. The Polish Socialist Party Supreme Council draws attention to the fact that in a situation of hyperinflation and an unbalanced exchange rate for the dollar, a danger of the sale of an undervalued national capital exists. We hope, states the party, that the government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki understands this problem.

Sejm Meeting Date Decided, Agenda Set

LD0410021989 Warsaw PAP in English 2017 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 3—The Sejm (lower house) Presidium decided to convene the ninth meeting of the lower house of the Polish parliament on Oct. 13.

The meeting's agenda will include:

A report by sejm committees on government draft amendments to the law on rises in pays and farmers' incomes in connection with changes in retail prices for consumer goods and services

The first reading of the government draft law on the national judiciary council

Changes in the composition of Sejm committees.

Warsaw TV Reports Power Supply Shortages

LD0410223189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] In the fourth quarter, power stations will receive 1.5 million tonnes of coal less than a year ago. That news is from today's press conference organized by the power and hard coal union.

For the first time this year the industry has experienced the effects of limiting the supply of power. On 3 October the demand for electric power was 1,500 megawatts greater than a year ago. If the winter is to be a hard one, there will be a shortage of more than 3,000 megawatts, in other words, about 15 percent of the present power generation capacity. There's no point in counting on imports—for example, this year we have hardly received one tenth of that anticipated in the agreement with the Soviet Union. But both sides are bound by the agreement and we are also not free of sins. The essence of the problem lies in the fact that in spite of the growing needs, for the first time there will not be a single new power generating set.

The heating scene isn't a very happy one either. As of Monday, and thus, before the heating season, there may be a shortage of hot water in Warsaw. The municipal power stations haven't got anything to buy coal with and the municipal cashier's office owes them more than Z 5 billion.

'Bomb Attack' Kills Security Official

LD0410234389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] In the Romanian town of Baia Mare, Lieutenant Colonel Ivan Gjorgij, one of the heads of the Romanian security service, died in a bomb attack. The bomb exploded when he switched on [words indistinct]. The Romanian press has not reported on this assasination.

IMF, IBRD Need To Reconsider Policies

AU2909204989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2002 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Washington (AGERPRES) 29/9/1989—Taking the floor during the annual meetings of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank for Reconstruction and Development [IBRD], Romania's representative showed that the developed capitalist countries' protectionism toward the developing countries' products extended and the foreign debt burden grew, which deeply affects the developing countries' economic growth. The speaker pointed to the paradoxical situation in which financial flows reverted, going today from the developing countries to the rich ones. The interest rates practiced in the international market as well as by the world financial organizations and banks reached high levels bearing on the heavily indebted countries' capacity to provide foreign debt servicing. The financial flows also reverted from the poor countries to the IMF and IBRD, organisms which should have backed the indebted countries.

The speaker showed that, given such a situation, Romania and its President Nicolae Ceausescu had declared on various occasions for a resetting of the international economic and financial order on new, equitable bases. As regards debts, the sole realistic and efficient approach is to find a global political and economic solution according to criteria and principles which should comply with the debtor countries' development level, with their possibilities for payment and with the efforts they should make for their economic and social progress. Such an approach and solution are possible only with the participation of all states developed and debtor developing in a UN-sponsored international conference that should establish such measures as: the cancellation of part of the poor countries' debt, the annulment of everything deriving from the excess interest rate, the re-scheduling of the remaining debt over a longer period, the perception of fixed interest rates which should not exceed 4-5 percent a year. Re-scheduling should be more flexible as regards the time to pay and the repayment terms, while the interest rates should not go beyond 2-3 percent. As a member of the IMF and IBRD, Romania considers that the financial bodies must give up the practice of conditioning credits, of using them to stimulate the so-called privatization, the development of the private economy, and of setting political terms on granting credits. As a member of the IMF and IBRD, Romania cannot be a party to a policy which means in fact to back plundering and oppression, actions promoted by multinational societies, by the international financial-banking capital in the relations with developing countries. The IMF and IBRD should fundamentally reconsider their policies and practices, and democratize their activity, the speaker said in conclusion.

Totu Calls for 'Radical Change' in World Economy

AU3009213189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1806 GMT 30 Sep 89

["Address by Romanian Foreign Minister at Ministerial Meeting of Group of 77"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] New York, AGERPRES, 30/09/1989—Addressing the ministerial meeting of the Group of 77, Ioan Totu, Romanian foreign minister, head of the Romanian delegation at the 44th session of the UN General Assembly, first congratulated Malaysia for the way in which it ensured the leadership of the group this year.

In this new format of our meetings the Romanian minister said we think that the exchange of views on a limited number of questions can provide better conditions for an in-depth discussion of the priority themes.

It would useful for the country which secures the chairmanship of the Group of 77 to retain the considerations and proposals put forward by the delegations so as to help set the positions of the group's specific problems during the year.

The meeting takes place today in conditions of worsening situation of the developing countries. Hence, in our opinion, our countries should use to advantage the special session of the General Assembly of April 1990 and the international strategy for the fourth UN development decade, we shall have to pay foremost attention to, in order to achieve a radical change in the current serious situation in the world economy and in international economic relations. [sentence as received]

Next, the speaker said: As a developing country, Romania is familiar with the consequences of the present state of affairs in the world economy, and especially, the heavy burden entailed to our countries by the foreign debt, one of the most serious problems facing these countries.

Mobilizing its entire material and human potential, Romanian [as received] managed to get rid of this burden in March 1989, which has a profound significance for the ensurance of the country's political and economic independence. It took great investment efforts during this decade in order to get this result. But in this way the repayment of the foreign debt did not affect the country's economic development programmes or the population's living standards and incomes.

Starting from this experience, and being aware of the practices of exploitation used by the international financial system, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and other big creditor banks, of their economic and

political terms which bring destabilization to developing countries, instead of progress, and cause the transfer of wealth from these countries to the main developed countries and the big banks, we regard the radical improvement of the international credit and interest system as a top priority of the actions of our group.

To this end, Romania proposes the following to be envisaged in the preparations for the next year's special session and the international development strategy:

1. The establishment of a maximum, non-fluctuant interest rate of 4-5 per cent of the credits granted by the IMF, IBRD [International Bank for Reconstruction and Development] and the big banks.

The volume of the outstanding credits should be recalculated on the basis of a maximum interest rate of 2-3 per cent.

2. The IMF and the IBRD should renounce their colonialist-type programmes of so-called economic readjustment in granting new credits, and especially the conditions concerning the reprivatization of productive units.

Romania believes that the IMF and the IBRD should renounce the conditions of reprivatization and grant credits to the public, state and cooperative sector with a view to ensuring the respective countries' economic and social development, their faster progress and the improvement of their people's living conditions. Apart from this, in 11 countries the public sector offers bigger guarantees for the respective financial institutions.

3. Considering that the IBRD and other big creditor banks have turned into instruments of the international financial capital to take control of the raw materials production in various developing countries, this way of interference in other countries' home affairs and the control of the production by the IBRD and other banks should be given up.

4. As the IMF and the IBRD readjustment programmes condition the granting of credits upon the setting of low prices to the raw materials supplied by the developing countries, which widens the gap between these prices and the prices of imported industrial goods, reasonable, equitable prices should be set to the raw materials supplied by the developing countries so as to put an end to the transfer of wealth from these countries to the developed countries.

Practice has shown that through the system of credits and high interest rates applied by the IMF, IBRD and other banks as well as through the price system used at least 42 billion dollars were transferred from developing to developed countries in the last year alone.

Romania also advances these proposals in its capacity as member of the IMF and IBRD, refusing to partake in the neocolonialist policy pursued by the developed countries, the Romanian minister wound up.

Milea Sends Message to Hungarian Defense Chief

AU2809192489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 28 Sep 89

["On the Day of the Hungarian People's Army"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 28/9/1989—The minister of national defence of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Colonel General Vasile Milea, sent a congratulatory telegram to the national defence minister of the Hungarian People's Republic, Colonel General Ferenc Karpati, on the Day of the Hungarian People's Army. On the same occasion, the ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic in Bucharest, Pal Szuts, gave a cocktail party on Thursday. The attendance included executives of the National Defence Ministry, representatives of other ministries, generals and senior officers. X X X

The military and air attache of the Hungarian People's Republic in Bucharest, Colonel Sandor Aradi, met with military of the garrison of the Romanian Army to whom he spoke about the significance of the event. The participants saw round exhibitions of photographs presenting aspects of the life and activity of the military of the Hungarian People's Army.

Ceausescu Receives Palestinian Official 29 Sep

AU2909194089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1820 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 29/9/1989—On Friday, 29 September, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu received Khalid al-Hasan, chairman of the Foreign Policy Commission of the Palestine National Council, chairman of the Palestinian group in the Interparliamentary Union, now on a visit to Romania. The guest conveyed President Nicolae Ceausescu a warm salute and best wishes on behalf of Yasir 'Arafat, president of the State of Palestine, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked and sent Yasir 'Arafat a warm salute and best wishes. During the interview President Nicolae Ceausescu reasserted the full solidarity and constant support of Romania, of the Romanian people for the just fight and the efforts made by the Palestinian people for the attainment of their aspirations to live in peace in a free and independent homeland, for the settlement of the situation in the Middle East by political means, by negotiations. In that framework stress was laid on the significance of calling up—in the shortest possible time—an international conference on the Middle East questions which should ensure the Palestinian people its right to self-determination, to the existence of an independent state of its own, as well as the security and independence of all the states in the area the establishment of a lasting peace in that region.

Emphasis was also placed on the necessity to strengthen the unity of action of the Arab countries for the settlement of the question in the Middle East.

The reception was attended by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly.

Present was Isma'il Ahmad Muhammad, charge d'affaires ad interim of the State of Palestine in Bucharest.

Palestinian Discusses Meeting

AU2909211689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2007 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 29/9/1989—Friday, 29 September, the chairman of the Foreign Policy Commission of the Palestinian National Council, Khalid al-Hasan, met with representatives of the Romanian leading press. The guest referred at length to his reception by President Nicolae Ceausescu, expressing his satisfaction for the opportunity he was given to hear constructive ideas and opinions on the situation in the Middle East and in other parts of the world. He said his talk with President Nicolae Ceausescu was very sincere and warm, full of valuable results. He stated he had an open and productive dialogue with Romania's president, which allowed him to more clearly see questions related to peace in the Middle East and to the international situation.

Sharing his impressions of his Romanian sojourn, the guest underlined that the achievements in Bucharest were a genuine miracle to him, considering them historical and apt to benefit the population in this country.

Ceausescu Receives Zambian Delegation

AU2909192489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1804 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 29/9/1989—On Friday, September 29, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu received the delegation of the National Assembly of the Republic of Zambia led by Fwanyanga Matale Mulikita, speaker of the assembly, who paid a visit to Romania. On the occasion president Nicolae Ceausescu was conveyed a warm salute and best wishes on behalf of Kenneth David Kaunda, president of the United National Independence Party, president of the Republic of Zambia, as well as on behalf of the party's leadership and the Zambian people. At the same time the head of the delegation expressed his gratitude for the interview granted and for the possibility to visit Romania and learn the Romanian people's great achievements in the country's socioeconomic development.

President Nicolae Ceausescu sent President Kenneth David Kaunda warmest salutes and wishes of success in his entire activity, and the Zambian people wishes of progress an prosperity.

During the interview reference was made to the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two countries and people which see a continuous development. Emphasis was also placed on the existing possibilities to strengthen the collaboration between Romania and Zambia especially the economic and technical-scientific cooperation as well as to increase and diversify trade exchanges.

Referring to current aspects of the international political life, more particularly those concerning Africa, President Nicolae Ceausescu reasserted Romania's stand of support and solidarity with the African people's fight for the complete liquidation of colonialism, for the abolition of the racist and apartheid policies, for the deepening and consolidation of their national independence, for the free, independent development without any foreign interference. Stress was laid on the necessity that the questions in Namibia be solved and the Namibian people's full national independence be ensured. At the same time emphasis was placed on the imperative that everything should be done for the settlement of the great contemporary questions in a new way, for the achievement of disarmament, the strengthening of cooperation among developing countries, for the liquidation of underdevelopment and the achievement of a new international economic order, for the ensurance of peace on our planet. In this framework the important role was emphasized incumbent on parliaments and parliamentarians in the settlement in the interest of the peoples of the grave and complex problems confronting mankind. The reception was attended by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, and Mihail Miculescu, deputy.

Present was Anderson Henry Kaluya, ambassdor of the Republic of Zambia to Bucharest.

Commentary on UN Speech by Albania's Malile

AU0410201989 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] At a time when the entire international community is making continual efforts for peace and friendship in the world and there are noticeable signs of East-West rapprochement and attempts to pacify hotbeds of crisis in the world, Reis Malile, Albanian minister of foreign affairs, speaking from the platform of the UN, once again spared no words in attacking Yugoslavia with weapons from Tirana's familiar official arsenal. We now broadcast a commentary by our editorial board.

Once again, alleged injustices done to the Albanian nationality in Kosovo and Yugoslavia, and the claim that members of this nationality are supposedly exposed to terror and are denied their rights to their autonomy and language, have been exploited in order to attack our country. From the rostrum of the UN, the Albanian Minister Reis Malile tried his furious best to persuade his listeners, blaming Yugoslavia for events whose culprits were the Albanian nationalists and separatists, behind whom, as is evident Tirana officially stands. All this was once again a flagrant interference by Albania in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, something in contradiction to all the positive and healthy trends in the world, at a time when, as never before, goodwill is evident in both East and West to overcome difficulties between ideologies, and when states seek [word indistinct] among peoples. This goodwill was also evident at the Balkan conference and the Ninth Summit of Nonaligned Countries, which ended with substantial success. In this context, Tirana is officially attempting to disparage the achievements of the Ninth Summit and the role of Yugoslavia as chairman of the movement.

For this reason, Ambassador Dragoslav Pejic, Yugoslavia's permanent representative at the UN, rightly responded to the speech of the foreign minister of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, with its flagrant interference in Yugoslavia's internal affairs and encouragement for separatism in Kosovo. The Albanian nationality in Kosovo and Yugoslavia needs no paternalism from abroad, because it has experienced a thorough transformation in Tito's Socialist Yugoslavia, such as many other peoples in the world have not been able to achieve during many decades. The Albanian nationality, with the other peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia, is able, as it has always been, to solve its own economic and political problems. In illustration, let us cite certain data that show this. The province of Kosovo, once a backward and illiterate society, now has its Academy of Sciences and Arts, its university with more than 30,000 students, several hundred elementary and high schools with about 500,000 pupils, and great intellectual potential to contribute to socioeconomic and cultural development in the province and beyond. The best way to refute unjust and tactless remarks, and accusations that the Albanian nationality in Kosovo allegedly does not enjoy the same rights as the other peoples and nationalities in Yugoslavia, is to mention the fact that the Albanian nationality has had its own representative at the head of the state Presidency, and is represented in the highest party bodies in the SFRY Assembly. The Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia is also equally represented in our consular and diplomatic service and in cultural posts. For this reason, all of the accusations and insinuations laid at the door of Yugoslavia by Reis Malile, the Albanian foreign minister, are in vain. He should realize among other things that the Albanian nationality has linked its destiny with all the other peoples and nationalities that live in Kosovo and Yugoslavia.

Kosovo Serbs Protest Attack on Militiaman

AU0410195389 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] A gathering of Serbs and Montenegrins was held today in the village of Osojani in Istok Commune in protest against the incident which took place yesterday in the building of the Internal Affairs Secretariat in Istok, in which Tomislav Babovic, an employee of the security services, was wounded by Naser Thaci, a migrant worker employed in Sweden.

Hisen Kajdomcaj, president of the Kosovo Presidency, and Zoran Andjelkovic, member of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee, also attended the meeting, organized by the Socialist Alliance of Working People, at which about 1,000 citizens were present. A report from our correspondent, Bytyc Sopa:

[Begin Sopa recording] The majority of the speakers expressed anger at the incident and strongly condemned it, also attacking the present communal leadership. The majority of their speeches were emotional. Talking to those present, Hisen Kajdomcaj, president of the Kosovo Presidency, said that the incident which took place in Istok yesterday has deeply affected not only members of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities, but also the broad masses of Albanians and all of those who are in favor of brotherhood and unity and the stabilization of the situation in Kosovo. Talking about the political and security situation the province, Hisen Kajdomcaj said this incident shows that the situation is still serious and complicated, and that we must fight Albanian nationalism and separatism to the end. What happened yesterday was also an attack on the results that we have achieved hitherto toward stabilizing the situation. The purpose of such incidents, Kajdomcaj said, is to cast doubt on all of the results we have achieved in many fields of life. However, he said, we must not cease in our efforts to secure conditions for stemming the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins and encouraging the return of all those who wish to live and work in Kosovo. Yesterday's case shows that the enemy is making every effort to keep the situation tense in the province. It is clear that the crime was not committed by the Albanian nationality, but by nationalist and separatist forces who have sworn opposition to our state

organs, our community in general, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and all progressive forces.

This was primarily an act aimed against the stable and common life of all our citizens, irrespective of their nationality. The relevant organs, Kajdomcaj said, will work to investigate this case, and will take the harshest measures against the culprit; however, the organs must also have the support of other progressive forces, particular those of the Albanian nationality. Your response and the harsh condemnation of yesterday's incident at this gathering are justifiable, Hisen Kajdomcaj, president of the Kosovo Presidency, said at the meeting held in the village of Osojani, Istok Commune.

Zoran Andjelkovic said in his short speech that this attack cannot be called anything other than a terrorist act, and we know that not only Kosovo and Yugoslavia, but the whole world calls such deeds by this name. He also said that, even though we have approved the Constitution, we still have not harmonized all the laws, and work on this will be completed before the end of the year. [end Sopa recording]

27th Session of LCY Central Committee Begins

Voroslija Opens Plenum

AU0310104189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Sep 89 p 2

[Unattributed report on the introductory speech by Ljubomir Varoslija, executive secretary of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, at the 27th Session of the LCY Central Committee in Belgrade on 26 September]

[Text] The proposed amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia have attracted a great deal of attention and drawn a critical reaction from experts, scientists, and politicians. The most critical reaction was dominated by assertions that the proposed amendments expressed exclusively a confederative view of the social organization of Yugoslavia, something that is incompatible with the federal model, or that these amendments were an attempt to introduce the concept of the so-called asymmetric federation. There are also warnings that the promulgation of the right of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia to self-determination, secession, and association would represent a serious danger for the integrity of Yugoslavia. Therefore, on the political scene these amendments have led to various controversies and disputes which are causing disturbance and great political instability not only in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, but also throughout the country.

We Avoided the Logic of Party Statehood

The fact that the SFRY Presidency has come to the conclusion that some amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia are in conflict with the SFRY Constitution, and that it has launched an initiative in the SFRY Assembly and the appropriate organs in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia to examine the situation and take the action needed to resolve it, are politically very important. You have already been informed that the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly will discuss this problem today. The problems that have emerged and the atmosphere that has been created are the main cause and motive for the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] to hold at its session two discussions on the ideopolitical aspects of the proposed amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, discussions that in fact concentrated on some key controversial questions.

The Presidium of the LCY Central Committee concluded that the problems are of such a nature that the Presidium should not and could not take on itself the entire responsibility of resolving them, and that it was necessary to call a session of the LCY Central Committee, especially in view of the fact that we disagree about the approach and method of solving these questions and that our differences came to prominence at the beginning of our session this morning. Meanwhile the Presidiums of the Republican Central Committees and the Presidiums of the Provincial Committees held their consultations. In order to contribute more efficiently to the preparation of this session so that it could be successfully convened and arrive at appropriate assessments and stands, at its session last night the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee put a group of the members of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee in charge of preparing a working text of the possible assessments and stands of the LCY Central Committee.

In the discussion at the session of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, and in the proposed assessments and stands, we particularly tried to eliminate the logic of the party statehood [partijska drzavnost] and party constitutionality [partijska ustavnosts] and to adhere strictly to the ideopolitical aspects, that is to say the political dimension of the questions, because, after all, the constitutional issues have always had a clear political dimension. Political decisions are always the essence of the Constitution. We in the League of Communists think that in this approach it is important that we proceed from the established LCY policy on the national question, the concept of the Yugoslav federation, the equality among the peoples and nationalities, and the equal position of the republics and provinces in it. This policy is the basic yardstick in assessing every constitutional reform, including the present one.

What Is Good, And What Is Worrying

Proceeding from this view we in the working group, proposing the assessments and stands of the LCY Central Committee, concentrated on several key ideopolitical questions and problems. We think that at the same time this represents a synthesis of the extensive discussions that were conducted at the sessions of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee in connection with this question. The proposed amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia are

very important and one could say represent certain steps toward the constitutional reform in the sphere of economic and political organization. We established that a great number of solutions contribute and enrich our constitutional system and the process of the democratization of society. However, there are warnings that some proposed amendments could be in contradiction with the SFRY Constitution. At present our assessment is identical to that of the SFRY Presidency and some other social and political entities. These solutions partly encroach on the established functions of the federation and on the relations in the federation, and render our constitution-legal system inconsistent.

This refers to the amendments which regulate the right of the Slovene people to self-determination, their right to secede and to associate, and the proclamation of a state of emergency and the taking of special measures on the territory of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia—which, as known, could include the employment of the armed forces in peacetime—as well as to the provisions concerning the rights and duties of the republican organs to introduce measures that would ensure that the constitutionally determined rights and the position of Slovenia are protected in the situations when the federal organs adopt decisions which clash with this. This has created serious political problems which obviously need to be discussed and resolved.

I would especially like to stress that in our view particular political weight attaches to the fact that by working on the amendments to the republican constitution, the appropriate organs in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia proposed some major and essential changes that significantly change the position of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and its organs and encroach on the joint functions which are realized in the federation through federal organs according to the existing SFRY Constitution and our legal system. In our view this has created constitutional-legal and political problems which can have far-reaching negative consequences on both relations in the federation and the total political situation in the country. Therefore it is unacceptable that some major political questions are regulated unilaterally instead of, in accordance with the concept and relations in our federation, being turned toward the framework of the forthcoming reform of the political system and the drafting of the new SFRY Constitution. It is a sovereign right of the working people and citizens of every republic to adopt their constitution. However, their duties are defined by the SFRY Constitution, which demands from them that they respect the established unified bases of the system. Only in this way can the forthcoming reform of the political system and the drafting of the new Constitution represent the result of an agreement and the joint will of all the peoples and all federal units.

The Responsibility of the Slovene League of Communists

For the LCY and its policies the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the LCY is of the key importance in this respect. We Yugoslav communists must establish our political platform for the reform of the political system. On the other hand, from the constitutional-legal point of view, it must be clear that as a law governed state, and in view of the fact that we are striving for the rule of law, we must respect the existing SFRY Constitution. It must clear that the responsibility of the republics and provinces for the development of Yugoslavia as a whole must be the same as for their own development. It must also be clear that it is not possible to realize constitutionality and legality in any other way but by respecting the existing SFRY Constitution. One of the very important stands is also that the above mentioned questions should be fully included in discussions and the process of formulating the ideopolitical platform of the reform of the political system which should be adopted by the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the LCY so that in the process of drafting a new SFRY Constitution the LCY can act from this platform. This is the way to correctly arrive at the solution to some questions that have been raised by the proposed amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. With this kind of orientation we would stand a greater chance of finding a way out of the present situation. The above mentioned problems are the main reason for proposing to the LCY Central Committee to adopt a stand according to which the communists and the LCY organizations and organs should act in appropriate organs and institutions of the system in such a way that the adoption of the controversial amendments to the Slovene Constitution is postponed for some time. In this way we would gain time and political space for the above mentioned problems to be thoroughly and properly discussed in a democratic atmosphere, in legal institutions, institutions that are competent to discuss them, and satisfactory solutions found. This is now the key and the most urgent task.

Finally, one should also mention the obligation and the responsibility of the League of Communists of Slovenia to fully contribute to the resolving of the newly created political situation, and especially tensions, disagreements, and confrontations, as well as the unfavorable political climate that is destabilizing the country. In this respect the LCY as a whole will have a special responsibility. The best contribution to overcoming this situation will be made by the communists who are trying to explain the real ideopolitical essence of the newly created problems and who strive for the democratic ways of overcoming them. In this way we will strengthen mutual trust among ourselves. The League of Communists in all our republics is obliged to ensure that its ideopolitical actions and explanation of the ideopolitical essence of the reforms contribute to the development of every republic and the federation as a whole. Ljubomir Varoslija said.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Introductory Speaker Not Familiar With Changes

One should add, opening speaker Ljubomir Varoslija said, that in the meantime the Constitutional Commission of the Slovene Assembly has tried on two occasions to reformulate the above mentioned amendments, and to remove ambiguities in their interpretations and even possible contradictions with the SFRY Constitution. There was not enough time to analyze the extent to which these weaknesses have been removed in relation to the working text of the proposed amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. One could say that some positive steps have been made on removing the weaknesses in relation to the working text of the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. In this context one should particularly point out that the provisions referring to the use of the SFRY armed forces in peace have been removed.

However, I did not have enough time and could not present the final outcome as to whether all the problems regarding the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia have been removed. In this respect I expect Slovene comrades to help us in today's discussion and to make their contribution to the ideopolitical clarification.

Trifunovic Speech, Plenum Voting

AU0310212989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Sep 89 pp 2-6

[Dara Vucinic, Ivan Torov report on proceedings of the extraordinary session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia on amendments to the Slovene Constitution held in Belgrade on 26 and 27 September: "One-Sided Acts Are Razing the Federation"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Reaction by Bogdan Trifunovic to the Speech by Milan Kucan:

Kucan Declares Hostilities on Serbia

Milan Kucan repeated at today's session of the Central Committee the speech that he recently gave in the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] in a somewhat enhanced and altered version. I said on that occasion that this was such a crude and all-inclusive attack on the League of Communists [LC] of Serbia and the Socialist Republic of Serbia that it looks to me like a declaration of hostilities. Comrade Kucan thought it necessary to repeat this speech at today's session. Perhaps he will also repeat it on similar occasions, while at the same time presenting the great principles that he supports. I think it is clear where that leads.

Second, our concern in the Socialist Republic of Serbia for Socialist Yugoslavia is greater than the interest of other peoples and nationalities in this country. However, this interest and concern really is big. People have been pointing this out to us. I think that one can see the kind of concern that Comrade Kucan and other people in the Slovene leadership have from some of the contentious amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and from the way in which he spoke at this session.

Third, I really do not intend to be concerned with fending off Kucan's attack. It is an honor for us in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and I believe for Communists and citizens in other republics, who are in the vast majority in advocating the unity of Socialist Yugoslavia and its integrity, to be attacked by a politician with the kind of stands that Milan Kucan supports.

Fourth, by endeavoring to conduct a discussion that will lead us out of the present difficult circumstances, the Central Committee of the LCY has the right, despite all the differences, to assess the serious consequences of the adoption of some amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia because they are of importance to the destiny of this country. This is our responsibility. Despite—and I will use this word—obstruction by some members of the Central Committee while establishing the agenda, we decided that the agenda would contain the ideopolitical aspects of the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. We should discuss this. [passage omitted]

Who Voted and How

It rarely happens during voting at sessions of the LCY Central Committee that members of the highest party forum vote separately for a decision and, moreover, show publicly before the cameras what they are for and what they are against. This, in fact, happened at the end of yesterday's extraordinary session of the LCY Central Committee devoted to the ideological aspects of some amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. As Milan Pancevski, the chairman, explained, this was done in order to avoid all possible manipulations and criticisms concerning, above all, a quorum or a non-statutory decision.

Without intending to draw any conclusions from the individual decisions "for" and "against" the proposed stands concerning the Slovene amendments, and, even less, on this basis to "call to account" any Central Committee member for freely expressing his view or wish during the voting, VECERNJE NOVOSTI and BORBA decided to nevertheless publish the outcome of individual decisions at the last plenum of the Central Committee of the LCY. They did this most of all in the belief that it has more than clearly been shown on this occasion, as well to what extent, the Central Committee works according to the strict "delegate principle" and that the delegates were almost ordered to vote as they did, that is to say, how in all of this there were few delegates who dared to vote against these orders during each vote.

On the basis of TV and radio recordings of the session, VECERNJE NOVOSTI and BORBA managed to reconstruct the outcome of the vote. Thus, for example, out of

the members of the Central Committee from the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC, only Nijaz Skenderagic voted against the proposed stands and all the others voted for them. The others were: Ivan Brigic, Darinka Djuraskovic, Omer Filipovic, Veljko Galic, Dragan Kalinic, Dragutin Kosovac, Dragan Kragulj, Dara Krnetic, Mehiba Vehovic, Mijo Marus, Suljo Mehic, Sait Mujkovic, Darinka Tesic, Ugljesa Uzelac, Filip Vukovic, and Nijaz Durakovic.

Apart from the votes "against" that were cast by Andjelko Kovacevic and Vukasin Micunovic, the other members of the LCY Central Committee from Montenegro voted for the proposed stands. This was done by Momir Grbovic, Radivoje Jokic, Momcilo Knezevic, Borivoje Kuc, Ahmet Mehovic, Dragan Mikovic, Andrija Nikic, Branka Obrenic, Milica Pejanovic, Muzaver Pepic, Zorka Sekulovic, Drago Sofranac, Milutin Vukasinovic, and Perko Vukotic. (It is interesting that Momir Bulatovic and Milo Djukanovic were not at the session during the voting).

Members of the LCY Central Committee from Croatia demonstrated a complete unity of views in voting against the stands. With the exception of Josip Bukovcan, Borislav Mikelic, Dragica Zgrebec, and Stanko Stojcevic, who were not at the session, all of the others who were present—Marko Brdaric, Branko Caratan, Tomo Cerjan, Tereza Domi, Dusan Dragosavac, Ivo Druzic, Josip Eterovic, Gojko Hajdukovic, Vjekoslav Juricic, Ivo Karamarko, Zdenko Krajina, Antun Kruljac, Marko Lolic, Ivica Racan, Milica Stanivukovic, and Enver Sehovic—raised their hands against the proposed stands.

Apart from Pandorka Blazeva and Taip Taipi, all of the members of the LCY Central Committee from Macedonia also voted for the stands. Support for the proposed stands in which the LCY Central Committee disassociated itself from the disputed Slovene amendments was given by Suzana Dimovska, Angel Dragasev, Blagoje Franceski, Ljupco Jordanovski, Lambe Jovanovski, Haralampi Krstevski, Krste Markovski, Blagoje Mitanovski, Milan Pancevski, Nufran Cato, Jordan Pop- Jordanov, Andrej Spasov, Boris Stankovski, Nedeljko Trajkovski, Ljubomir Varoslija, and Jakov Lazaroski.

As was expected and was explained later by Franc Setinc, all of the members of the LCY Central Committee from Slovenia voted against. This was done by Darija Colaric, Bozidar Debenjak, Dali Djonlagic, Vinko Hafner, Janez Kocijancic, Martina Kolar, Stefan Korosec, Sergej Krajger, Boris Muzevic, Milica Ozbic, Lev Kreft, Franc Sifkovic, Janez Zahrastnik, Janez Zemljaric, Borut Suklje, Milan Kucan, Janko Zupancic, Franc Setinc, and Igor Ursic.

In contrast to the members of the LCY Central Committee from Slovenia, all of the members of the LCY Central Committee present from Serbia supported the proposed stands. A vote of support for the stands was given by Dusan Ckrebic, Dusica Danilovic-Tanaskovic, Neradza Jovanov, Milka Kikovic, Radoje Kostadinovic, Mihajlo Milojevic, Mihajlo Pesic, Milovan Popovic, Tomislav Radevic, Stanislav Stojanovic, Vlajko Stoiljkovic, Petar Skundric, Dobrivoje Vidic, and Bogdan Trifunovic.

Out of the members of the LCY Central Committee from Kosovo, only Ali Buza voted against the proposed stands, while Ali Sabani was the only member of the LCY Central Committee to abstain. Seniha Bulja, Enver Djerdjeku, Andjelija Filipovic, Vojislav Knezevic, Liman Matosi, Ljubomir Radovic, Dobrivoje Simonovic, Ali Sukrija, Sanije Veseli, Jusuf Zejnulahu, and Rahman Morina voted for the proposed stands, while Kolj Siroka, who attended the session, was not in the hall during the voting.

The members of the LCY Central Committee from Vojvodina expressed an identical viewpoint. Sinisa Batalo, Janos Domakos, Mladen Djurin, Mitar Janjic, Svetozar Krstic, Ljubomir Medjesi, Ivan Mihaljev, Biljana Mitrovic, Radovan Pankov, Stanko Radmilovic, Snezan Zlatar, and Nedeljko Sipovac supported the proposed stands.

The same was also done by all of the members of the LCY Central Committee from the League of Communists organization in the Yugoslav People's Army: Milos Bajcetic, Stane Brovet, Simeon Buncic, Nikola Cubra, Milan Gorjanc, Bozidar Grubisic, Vladimir Hodalj, Ahmet Hodzic, Mladen Lukezic, Branko Mamula, Mladenko Maksimovic, Stevan Mirkovic, Bogoljub Redjic, and Petar Simic.

Croat Daily Views Plenum

AU0410174489 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 28 Sep 89 p 1

[Vlado Rajic Commentary: "The Balance of Power Test"]

[Text] The speech by Ivica Racan at the 27th plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] delivered at the 16th hour of the session threatened to reverse the film back to its beginning, because he, as was done the day before, raised the question: What is the purpose of this extraordinary session called to discuss the agenda, which consists of only one point devoted to the ideopolitical aspects of the amendments to the Slovene Constitution? This question was raised again during the long discussion at night in the Sava Center, but it was never answered. The basic stands and assessments of the Central Committee on the same topic do not contain the answer either. The fuss and some individual views, which the media quickly used to describe the plenum as the "final showdown with the Slovenes," do not correspond at all to what had really happened and to what the adopted document means. The Slovene case was only the framework within which the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LCY was exposed to a real cannonade of criticism, in which relations in the Central Committee were debated, and

replies of the representatives of the completely opposed political conceptions were intensified.

The Presidium was reproached by Vukasin Micunovic for communicating with the Central Committee with increasingly short statements, by Milica Stanivukovic for reacting tendentiously, and by Borut Suklje for being responsible for the consequences of the session on the Slovene amendments. The attempt by Milan Pancevski to cushion the avalanche of criticism was rejected by Boris Muzevic, who introduced the topic—which was never completely covered at the plenum—on the method used to present the stand of the Presidium on the Slovene constitutional amendments as unanimous, although it was not. A few hours later, challenged by the ferocity of Ivo Druzic's speech at the expense of the Presidium and the president himself, Pancevski asked the tired delegates to dissociate themselves from Druzic's speech. Nobody reacted.

There was another instance of dissociation: that of Dusan Ckrebic, who dissociated himself from the speech by Martina Kolar. Ckrebic was insulted by the way in which Comrade Kolar referred to him. She replied again by referring to his resignation, which was tendered and immediately withdrawn at the session of the Central Committee, which gave him a vote of no confidence, and thus by implication expressed its mistrust in his party abilities. Milan Kucan did not react to Bogdan Trifunovic's statement that he was honored by the attacks by people like Kucan. On the other hand, Ivo Druzic immediately described as an incomprehensible fabrication Trifunovic's reply concerning the army and Druzic's alleged belittling of the Yugoslav People's Army, and offered the shorthand notes from the plenum as proof that he did not say what Trifunovic was asserting he had.

It can be seen from these plenum sketches alone that the Slovene amendments were only a garnish on top of conventional clashes and the exchange of political blows. This is no wonder. During the session, attention was turned many times to the constitutional capability of the Central Committee and the level of the discussion showed it in a poor light. There have been many points of various kinds to support the thesis that for the great majority of the discussants, the Constitution is only a notion and few have read it. Lacking expertise, they grasped at political arguments and even more frequently at political gimmicks of the following type: "Kucan did not compose a speech to defend the Slovene amendments but to attack Serbia" said Ckrebic; or "A comparison between the Slovene and the Serbian amendments is impossible because the latter have not been classed as unconstitutional either by the SFRY Presidency or by the Federal Executive Council," said Milka Kikovic; and so forth.

Are the Slovene amendments really such a fatal subject for the country that several tens of millions of dinars of membership fees had to be blown on a session to discuss them? Why was the same standard not applied to some dramatic political situations in which the country was also endangered, but in which the complete state-party leadership took a back seat? Why does the Presidium, with its example, display all of the shortcomings of the people and the organs who are responsible for the organization and the membership, but also keep some remnants of responsibility for political life? The reaction to Racan's proposal that these relations should be discussed by the LCY Central Committee as soon as possible, in a few days, has shown how the matters stand. No way, was the answer, we have more important subjects to discuss that have been agreed upon earlier, ranging from the economy to the clashes between the Vojvodina and Croatian party leaderships. Of course, the avoidance of hot subjects has been perfected during the present term of office. When one points one's finger at it, the majority of the members hang their heads. This situation reminds one of a finger raised in warning [alluding to Vinko Hafner at the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee on 19 October 1988], whose effect has been lost in the tepid waters of plenum discussions.

The Slovene amendments have been an excessively specific subject for the party discussants, and the concluding assessments could not have been any different. It all started with a 1-hour break so that the Central Committee members could become acquainted with the facts of the subject they were supposed to discuss. It appeared that the cream of the party reads neither newspapers (in which all these statements and amendments had been published) nor the materials that have been discussed in public for weeks. It all ended with extreme tiredness and with the feeling that the Central Committee was again used as a battlefield in which swords are crossed and strength, nerves, rhetorical abilities, and stamina are tested. The LCY Central Committee members themselves asked how long this would go on and what the purpose was. What a question the party and the general public could ask, reduced as they were by the cameras to being a political theater audience and to merely having the power to switch off their television sets!

Slovene Airline Attack, Threat to Kucan Reported

AU0410143489 Paris AFP in English 1410 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 4 (AFP)—A gunshot was fired at the offices of the Slovenian airline in Sarajevo, central Yugoslavia, it was reported here Wednesday as the constitutional court began examining Slovenia's claim of the right to secede.

The Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI said that no-one was injured in the shooting Monday, but that an organisation calling itself "Yugoslavia" later said it had sentenced Slovenian Communist Party leader Milan Kucan to death.

The organisation, hitherto unknown, made the threat in a message to the Sarajevo newspaper VECERNJE NOVINE.

The constitutional court here on Wednesday began examining six constitutional amendments adopted last week by the Slovenian parliament including one which asserts the republic's right to secede.

The court was asked by the federal parliament to give a ruling, but it has no power to order the Slovenian Parliament to change its decision.

The federal court chose as head of its examining panel is a Serbian-born judge, Miloslav Stijovic. Serbia, the most populous of Yugoslavia's six republics, has been leading the campaign against Slovenia's constitutional moves.

Further on Controversy Over Slovene Amendments

Officials on Constitutional Law

LD0310092889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1501 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 2 (TANJUG)—Slovenian officials said here today that the Slovenian parliament passed the constitutional amendments, which caused controversy in the country, to prevent centralist interpretations of the federal constition and to strengthen the constitutional order under which the Slovenian union, together with other nations, will feel free and equal. Ciril Ribicic, a member of the Slovenian League of Communists Central Communist Presidency, told a press conference here today that the amendments to the Slovenian Constitution neither encourage separatism nor breau pu the unity and integrity of Yugoslavia. The amendments "are a blow to those who see Slovenia outside Yugoslavia and nonsocialist," Ribicic said.

"If the situation in Slovenia had not been compared to the one in Kosovo, where Albanian chauvinists and separatists are active, and if there had not been threats with weapons and repression, the Slovenian parliament would not have passed the amendment under which the republican parliament is solely authorized to introduce a state of emergency in Slovenia," Ribicic said.

Ribicic underscored that the amendment on Slovenia's right to self-determination, succession, and uniting would not have been passed had there not been theses that this right had been regarded as consumed [as received] and not lasting and inalienable.

Ribicic, as well as Slovenian parliament officials Tone Jarovsek and Janez Sinkovec, who also spoke at the press conference, categorically denied the thesis that Slovenia wishes to break away from Yugoslavia.

Commenting on the call of the Front for the Independent State of Slovenia that the republic secede, Ribicic described it as an illegal, anti-constitutional act, "hostile to both the Slovenian and the Yugoslav Constitutions."

Pointing out that Slovenia believes that its amendments are not in opposition to Yugoslavia's Constitution, Jarovsek said that if the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia establishes that the amendments are in opposition, the Slovenian Assembly will review the court's finding and decide on further action.

The Slovenian officials evaluated the assessments of the federal state and party organs that the Slovenian amendments were in opposition to the country's constitution, which came only a day or two prior to their adoption, as "unprecedented political pressure" and pointed out that "force could not be imposed on a sovereign republic's legal act."

Asked whether a military intervention in Slovenia was possible, Ribicic replied that there had been frequent threats that Slovenia would be disciplined by weapons and repression over the last few days, but [word indistinct], top representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army underscored that the Army could not be used in political clashes.

Ribicic specified that all members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee from Slovenia voted against the stands which criticized the Slovenian amendments, and called the assembly of the republic to postpone the adoption of the amendments, because of the obligation regarding the support of the Slovenian population to the amendments. Slovenian communists, he added, must not pledge themselves to go against the stands of their people.

Asked whether the Slovenian party would not respect the principle of democratic centralism, Ribicic replied that, at the special LCY congress scheduled for January, Slovenian communists ask that decisions be taken not by outvoting but by consensus on crucial issues, i.e. the kind of socialism and Yugoslavia we want. The Slovenian officials announced that Slovenia was working on changes of the electoral law which would enable all political organizations, including those such are yet to be formed, to freely nominate their representatives at the spring elections. Asked whether this meant the introduction of a multi-party system, they replied that Slovenia was preparing a new law on political association which would ban only those organizations whose aim is to violently destroy the constitutional foundations of Yugoslavia and Slovenia.

Underscoring that the Slovenian Communist Party's prestige had grown after the adoption of the constitutional amendments, Ribicic stated that he did not fear that the party would be defeated at the elections.

Smole Interviewed on Amendments

AU0310215289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Sep 89 p 7

[Interview with Joze Smole, president of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Slovene Socialist Alliance of Working People, by Veselin Simonovic, Momcilo Djorgovic, and Dragisa Draskovic: "We Are Not Dreaming About Seceding From Yugoslavia"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Both the Slovene and Yugoslav public are disturbed. What should be done to avoid a possible dramatic escalation of the situation?

[Smole] One part of the Yugoslav public is disturbed because, as you could see, we have the support of Croatia. Everything should be calmed down with tolerant explanations. Slovenia has the sovereign right to decide on its constitution. We did not interfere in the constitutional changes in Serbia. I did not want to either support or deny those changes, because I was of the opinion that they were the sovereign right of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. The accusations addressed to us are unfounded. The principle of self-determination is both a Marxist and an international principle and no serious man in Slovenia is dreaming about secession.

[Question] If this is the case, why was it then necessary to add to this principle the provisions on secession and association?

[Smole] In order to place a greater emphasis on the equality of peoples and nationalities, and because of the obvious tendencies toward unitarianism and outvoting. Some people would like to push us back into the prewar Drava County [banovina]. We are of the opinion that the original rights belong to the republics, and that the derived rights belong to the federation. Others (above all in Serbia) think that this is the other way around. We must resolve this bone of contention.

[Question] However, the question is what renders Yugoslavia a state if the republics have all of the original rights?

[Smole] For instance, in Yugoslavia people do not understand, and even ignore, the problem concerning the use of the Slovene language. How can one hold trials in Serbo-Croatian in Slovenia? Why do I always agree, for some technical reasons, to speak in Serbo-Croatian at the sessions in Belgrade? You know, in Switzerland, when the train passes through different cantons, the ticket inspector alternates between French, German, and Italian. This is not causing problems in their federation, so why should it cause problems in ours?

[Question] The Slovene interpretation of original and derived rights is causing problems in the functioning of the Yugoslav People's Army.

[Smole] According to the SFRY Constitution, the SFRY Presidency is in charge of the Army. We do not have any ambitions to exert influence on the disposition of the armed forces and commanding. We are only demanding that emergency measures are not introduced in Slovenia without the consent of the Slovene Assembly. The SFRY Presidency can launch an initiative to introduce emergency measures, but the final decision should only be made by our assembly. The Serbian Assembly had to approve the emergency measures before they were introduced in Kosovo. Would they have been introduced had the assembly not given its consent?

For instance, the Army plays a great role in removing the consequences of natural disasters. In this case the SFRY Presidency can employ the Army without our consent, or our assembly can ask the SFRY Presidency to do so. Therefore, there are a number of other emergency measures and situations, and not only those of a political nature, and we seem to be only talking about the political ones. I really do not know who is benefiting from provoking and disturbing the citizens of Slovenia.

[Question] By insisting on the adoption of the contentious amendments you are, in fact, questioning the authority of the SFRY Assembly. How can it regain its authority when you have adopted these amendments without its consent?

[Smole] We must do everything to regain the SFRY Presidency's authority. However, the SFRY Presidency is a collective organ and some comrades in it have gone over the top with their assessments.

[Question] Who are you referring to?

[Smole] To Comrade Borislav Jovic.

[Question] Nevertheless, the SFRY Presidency adopted its stances with only one vote against.

[Smole] Before adopting its stances the SFRY Presidency should have consulted us in Slovenia so that the expert commission did not have to present its views. Otherwise, we are very interested in the SFRY Presidency regaining its authority.

[Question] How will you do that?

[Smole] The SFRY Presidency itself must take care of its authority. How could the Constitutional Court have been asked to pass a judgment on our amendments at a time when they were still going through the process of adoption? This was unconstitutional. The Constitutional Court can discuss our amendments only after they have been adopted.

Trade Unions Condemn 'Pressures'

LD0410084189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1340 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 2 Oct (TANJUG)—The Slovene Trade Unions reject and sharply condemn the political pressures to which the Slovene Assembly, the political leadership and the inhabitants of this republic were exposed directly before the adoption of the amendments to the Slovene Constitution, it was said at today's session of the Slovene Trade Union Federation Presidium.

The amendments to the Slovene Constitution express the will and interests of the Slovene people and the inhabitants of this republic, as well as the demands of the membership of the Slovene Trade Union Federation, the Presidium assessed. The political disqualification of some of the amendments, before they were approved by legitimate organs, is a precedent in the postwar history of Yugoslavia, is in profound contrast to the democratic

processes in society, and represents the inflaming of already tense intranational relations and the further deepening of the socio-economic crisis. The Presidium decisively rejected the pressures, threats, and logic of the protest meetings at which calls were made for the use of force and emergency means, which are supposed to replace the legitimate institutions and paths set out in the SFRY Constitution.

Demands for Independence Viewed

AU0310183189 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Sep 89 p 11

[Stevan Zec, Slobodan Zikic article: "The Foundation of the Independent State of Slovenia Demanded"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 29 Sep—POLITIKA correspondents and reporters in Ljubjana have received a text signed by a hitherto unknown and probably illegal organization called "The Front for Independent [nezavisan] Slovenia." The text bears two rubber stamps, a round one with the inscription "The Front for Independent Slovenia" and a rectangular one with the inscription "The Slovene State-Founding Assembly." The pamphlet has been issued by the propaganda department of "The Front for Independent Slovenia" allegedly in 2,000 copies, as is written on it, and it was sent to the media in Slovenia and abroad by the Public Relations Department of this illegal organization or group.

They Want To "Liberate" the Slovene People

The most important part of this is certainly the text of the document, the program statement of "The Front for Independent Slovenia." Here is this text in full:

The Program Statement of the Front for Independent Slovenia:

The Front for Independent Slovenia is an organization, which is to say, an alliance, of all Slovenes which advocates an autonomous [samostalan] Slovene state. The Slovene State-Founding Assembly is its leadership. We are not a political party and we are not interested in the struggle for power; we want the liberation both of man as an individual and the entire Slovene people. As long as the entire Slovene people is not free, no individual member of that people can be free either.

Belonging to our ranks are people of different political convictions, ranging from rightist ones—republican and Christian—to leftist, socialist, and communist. Despite their different political convictions, which is a completely normal occurrence within a people, they all have the same aim for which we jointly fight. Therefore, the Front's intention is not to break the Slovene people apart, but to create national unity on the road toward its final liberation. This, of course, includes the democratic right to arrange the Slovene state which will ensure the survival of the Slovene people and the corresponding development of each individual citizen of Slovenia. The material welfare of each individual and the development and progress of the entire society must be ensured in this state. In that way, conditions will be ensured for a general cultural and scientific flourishing in Slovenia, because a creative spirit which used to be suppressed or whose powers were directed toward the interests of others will be liberated.

The "Slovene Army" Is Also in the Program

In conformity with these basic guidelines, we declare the following program points:

1. We demand the foundation of the independent Slovene state as an equal member of the United Nations.
2. The Slovene state will be founded on a democratic social order under which we imply the following: a multiparty system, a law-governed state, equality of ownership, protection of human rights and civilian freedoms, as well as freedom of capital.
3. The Slovene Army, subordinated only to the Slovene Assembly, will be the guarantor of the sovereignty of the Slovene people and state.
4. The social security of every citizen of Slovenia will be ensured.
5. Culture and schooling will be devoid of any ideological additions.
6. Foreign policy will be founded solely on the neutrality and the principle of equal cooperation among peoples.

This program has been drafted by the Front for Independent Slovenia and adopted and confirmed by the Slovene State-Founding Assembly.

They Do Not Recognize Either the SFRY Constitution or the Slovene Constitution

When the aims of this program statement are realized, the conditions for the self-abolition of the Front for Autonomous Slovenia and its leadership, the Slovene State-Founding Assembly, will be attained. The Slovene people will vote for their Constitution and National Assembly. By abolishing ourselves, we will prevent political protectionism and will prevent the members of the Front or its leadership from holding an exclusive right to political decisionmaking.

In an addendum consisting of two densely typed pages which also bears a proper rubber stamp, the signatories say that they are aware of the fact that their statement is at variance with the positive law of the SFRY and even with the positive law of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, which they do not recognize because it is based on the SFRY Constitution, which the members of the Front for Independent Slovenia do not recognize as their constitution.

The legal system of the SFRY is one of the most confused and contradictory systems ever. The Constitution itself contains some contradictions that are even more stressed in laws and ordinances. The Constitution does not enable democratic, ideological, and political pluralism and, apart from that, does not ensure sovereignty and equality to man as an individual or to a people or nation.

This is why we cannot and must not accept this Constitution and the legal system based on it as belonging to us. We cannot consider the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia as ours either (despite of its being more acceptable, particularly in the wake of the present amendments), because it complies with and recognizes the SFRY Constitution as superior to it.

It is then pointed out that several proposals for amending the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia could not be adopted because they were in conflict with the SFRY Constitution and that this is exactly where the problem of the positive law lies.

The Slovenes must proceed exclusively from the natural law if they want to have their right to self-determination [samoodlucivanje] and an independent state. The activity of this Front for Independent Slovenia, the document goes on to say, is emanating from this natural law. The signatories of the pamphlet claim that in this way they do not deny anyone their rights or endanger them, but they also say the following:

Of course, this natural law gives us the right to use all possible and available means to oppose all those individuals or people who want to deny us our natural right to our own state or even attempt to stop us by means of force.

Let us avoid confusion. We do not accept the slogan: Whoever does not support us opposes us. Our slogan is: Whoever uses hostile force against us and our ideas will be answered in the same way—by counterforce. It is also pointed out that the signatories of the pamphlet will calmly talk to everybody in Slovenia who may think differently, because "the civil war in Slovenia 45 years ago, from which everybody except the Slovenes profited, was unfortunate enough."

The Front for Independent Slovenia also blames positive law for different concepts and ideas in Slovenia. It reproaches the political alliances, organizations, and groups in Slovenia for acting based on very unprincipled positions and claims that there are no conditions for legal political competition.

The proponents of the ideas on self-managing socialism and the Yugoslav federation have incomparably more chances for voicing their political views than, for instance, the proponents of parliamentary democracy in an independent Slovene state. There is nothing else for us in the Front for Independent Slovenia to do but to act illegally. In that way we have much less influence on the creation of public opinion, but despite that we are firmly convinced that, even if our organization fails to achieve the aim it has set, nobody will be able to erase the concept of a democratic independent Slovenia from the Slovene territory. X X X

What is one to think when such papers get into one's hands? Is it a provocation by hostile emigres? A text written by a group of maniacs making crude jokes? How is one to check whether they are really 2,000 copies of this pamphlet? In any case, all of this is very sad and very ugly.

Speaking at the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, at the SFRY Assembly, and at the Slovene Assembly 2 days ago, the highest Slovene leaders vociferously claimed that there has been no demand for secession in Slovenia, but this pamphlet bears the date of 22 September 1989, although POLITIKA journalists received it late last night.

[The following passage in bold print appears within the body of the item]

The Front's Message to the Media

The following letter is included with the texts accompanying the document:

"We deeply hope that what we are sending to you will be published in your newspaper or magazine. Many taboos have been abolished in Slovenia lately, but many have remained and they make true democracy impossible and prevent the removal of the causes of the present crisis. This is why we appeal to your consciousness and morals. If your editorial board is truly democratic, to publish our program statement will be the greatest proof of that. So far our front has no chance to voice its ideas freely and legally.

"Only TRIBUNA, the organ of the Socialist Youth Federation of Slovenia at Ljubljana University, has started to carry parts of the book 'Slovene State,' which was published by our organization. We could not get it into any other paper.

"This program statement of the Front for Independent Slovenia will show how wrong all of those 'creators' of the Slovene public opinion are who claim that there are no demands for secession or for an independent democratic Slovene state in Slovenia." This was written in the text sent to us the night before last.

'Dangerous' Attention to 'Underground'

AU0310205589 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 30 Sep 89 p 2

[Vlado Slamberger article: "Now 'Secessionists' After 'Traitors'"]

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 29 Sep—The names that Slovenia, the Slovenes, and our leadership are being called by our Slav brothers push time and history back 50 years. The reproaches—which began by telling the Slovenes that we may leave Yugoslavia, abandoning the country and all the wealth that we have earned by the sweat of our brow and with our callous hands (the Slovenes, who were virtually barefoot and naked and chased out of their country by the occupiers, were particularly "pleased" with such a message from Titograd—editor's note)—have now been joined by the words "treason," "traitors," and "treacherous treason." The delegates in the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, as legitimate representatives of the Slovene people, have become "moral criminals," as the broadest democratic socialist front decided in Belgrade.

The Slovenes, who are inclined toward Catholicism, will not get excited about this because they are acquainted with the biblical recommendation about the two cheeks (whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also); the "lovers" among the brotherly people will say that they never expected anything better; and the pessimists will note that nothing is so bad that it could not be even worse.

We are able to bear a lot, as long as it does not go beyond angry words, as we have shown throughout history, but the "Slovene case" is moving in a dangerous direction. This has been indicated by none other than POLITIKA (only in its Belgrade edition).

Another False Translation

"We want the formation of an independent Slovene state," reads the banner headline in "the best daily in the country," as Slobodan Milosevic calls it. POLITIKA explains that this is said in a leaflet signed by a previously unknown and obviously illegal organization, the Front for an Independent [neodvisen] Slovenia. However, the very headline is misleading, because the original speaks about an "autonomous" [samostojen] Slovenia.

It is not so much a leaflet, but rather an anonymous piece of writing [anonimka] (the DELO editorial office has also received it—editor's note). Serious editorial offices have not published anonymous writings so far, because opinions of cowards really cannot be of interest to the public. The Belgrade daily this time decided differently and devoted exceptional attention to "a statement that POLITIKA correspondents and reporters in Ljubljana have received" (this is the daily that informs its readers objectively, for instance, by devoting to Milan Kucan's explanation of the Slovene views on the constitutional amendments at the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee plenum one sixth of the space devoted to the "illegal organization" today—editor's note). It even reprinted all of the six "program points," among which "the founding of an independent Slovene state as a full member of the United Nations" is foremost.

POLITIKA is not disturbed by the fact that none of the "documents" that it received contains any names: neither those of an "authorized public relations person," nor of "the Slovene State- Founding Assembly." What it finds to be essential is that the leaflet, as it chooses to call this anonymous piece of writing, is obviously another proof of how right those are who already see Slovenia as soon being voluntarily outside Yugoslavia.

Anti-Slovene Writings

Even a cursory analysis of the "written evidence," of the appendix to it, and of the "Program Statement" by this "Front," based on the spirit of the writing and its appearance, makes one suspect that it possibly was not written in Slovenia; however, it is true that it was mailed at one of the Ljubljana post offices. The "Program Statement" and "written evidence" have such an anti-Slovene slant—and provide grist to the mill of those who say that separatism is inborn to the Slovenes—that a sensible Slovene would never dream of them. The "underground" says that its "program statement shows how wrong all those 'creators' of the Slovene public opinion are who assert that in Slovenia there are no demands for secession and for an independent democratic Slovene state." Nobody has ever stated such a thing, because we do not forbid different individual opinions, even if they are daft and unreasonable.

A report of the republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Slovenia gives another indication that the anonymous text was not written in Slovenia: the republican Secretariat does not know anything about it yet, although there is no doubt (despite all the remarks about the police uttered by the alternative groups) that it would know about it if it were written in our republic.

Mojsov Also Had a "Document" in His Hands

The attention paid by POLITIKA to the Slovene "underground" can be extremely dangerous because of the consequences that it may cause during the present anti-Slovene madness. Let us refresh our readers' memory and look some 8 months back. Lazar Mojsov, at that time a member of the SFRY Presidency, waved in front of the SFRY Assembly delegates a "plan in three stages," whose goal was a Kosovo republic, secession from Yugoslavia, and accession to a Great Albania. That plan was said to have been confiscated from the enemy by the State Security Service. The result were emergency measures in Kosovo (some of them are still in force). Now those who reproach Slovenia for separatism again have a "document" in their hands. Lazar Mojsov is no longer a SFRY Presidency member, but the ratio (7 to 1 against Slovenia) has remained the same, as the latest events in the collective leadership of the country have shown. [passage omitted]

Bosnian Paper on Slovene Changes

AU0210153789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Sep 89 p 13

[Zlatko Dizdarevic commentary reprinted from Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE: "Self-Secession"—date not given]

[Text] The day before yesterday, a part of Yugoslavia celebrated a "victory"; another part felt deceived because "what we would have done to them, had we been asked, had not been done"; and the third part—certainly the biggest—felt a little nauseous, resigned, miserable, and sleepy.

It is superfluous today to say anything that would be interpreted correctly, rationally, and without a rise in temperature on the first, second, and third sides, because it seems that the real truth that so many people have been advocating no longer exists at all. The truth has its own interests, its own nations and national colors, its own frustrations, suspicions, and, finally, the feeling of "being complimented" because it is being attacked by that other truth.

However, in the whole of this many-faceted story, which was even mentioned at that dramatic session with which the Central Committee again managed to make the people crazy, there is one truth for which it is not essential whether it will be recognized or not by one side or the other: We have again been presented with the party's absolute unwillingness, in all its clarity, to "step down from power," and the unwillingness of the media to understand that this people, the all-Yugoslav people, are not represented by one or other party but—still and to a certain extent—by the Assembly, and that the Army should not first of all reveal its intentions to the Central Committee, but to the Assembly or the SFRY Presidency, as the Constitution envisages.

Why did the Yugoslav public exhaust itself that night watching for the umpteenth time the highest representatives of one party without constitutional powers resolve in a specific way all the quarrels of this sort, insult each other, make inferences and insinuations, and anger and discourage its membership. Why were the TV cameras and newspaper pages not turned toward the session of the SFRY Assembly, which in a way represents all the citizens of this country who are probably equally as interested in the fate of their borders. How does the idea occur to some members of the Central Committee that this forum should take over the powers of the parliament, government, constitutional commissions, and even—reading between the lines—of those who will direct possible future moves by the Army.

The question is, of course, only for the naive. This idea rests on all those "rights" of the Central Committee, which, by what it has done and what it has not done, has created the framework for a collision between different concepts regarding the structure of our common future. Even the extremely uninformed can see that the case of the "contentious amendments" has only the slightest connection with the amendments which in a normal country would, by the way, have to be coordinated further, in the normal way and in the appropriate institutions, and refined and rejected if need be. It has most to do with the crossing of swords in some new-old battles over the concept of the future state and the disintegration of power in it. A strong current in the party, such as it is, does not want to renounce its share of the cake of power, and this is as clear as daylight. In a country in which the party wants to bring cameras to its all-night sessions, where the people have the impression that this is quite normal, and where the assembly serves as a token formal democracy, matters must end in the way that they end. Whoever does not know how this happens should see what happens throughout the world in various countries and republics run by committees.

The big question is what the Slovenes really want to secede from. However, it is clear that all of us together will never be able to cut ourselves off from the past which has brought us thus far, if we behave in the same way in which we have "achieved" this.

Kosovo Polje Condemns Changes

AU0410150289 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 30 Sep 89 p 17

[B. Zogjani report: "Accountability Demanded for Manipulating the Slovene People"]

[Text] A gathering of citizens of Kosovo Polje against the recent constitutional changes in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia was announced for 1600 the day before yesterday. The meeting was supposed to have been held in the Hall of Culture, but was moved to the sports field of the Aca Marovic Elementary School because of the large number of people interested.

This gathering was said to be under the auspices of the local Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP], and it was opened by Vukasin Nickevic, chairman of the 16th Local Community SAWP Branch. We have assembled at this rally, he said, to express our dissatisfaction at the situation that has arisen in Slovenia. We express our total support for the stands of the highest party and state organs of the country over the constitutional changes in Slovenia. He then said that he was convinced that the approved changes would not be accepted and would be summarily rejected by federal bodies and those few progressive forces that remain in Slovenia. As he put it, the early return of Jane Drnovsek from his visit to the United States, in order to applaud at the Slovene Assembly, was an unprecedented incident in our political life.

Radivoje Popovic, professor at Pristina University, then spoke to the crowd of about 1,000, and said among other things that all you citizens of Kosovo and Metohija must realize that after yesterday, when the Slovene Assembly approved constitutional changes permitting its secession from the federation, Yugoslavia is confronted with the greatest danger posed to it since the liberation. This is an act of surrender and treachery. This speaker asked whether this is the beginning of Yugoslavia's dissolution, or whether it is a moment that must be seized in order to confront this separatism; he categorically insisted that the approved changes must be declared void and that Yugoslavia must be enabled to protect its territory from enemies of all kinds.

Sejdo Bajramovic, member of the Pristina Veterans Association, then said that the act of treason ever committed in this region was the signing of the Tripartite Pact for the capitulation of Yugoslavia in 1941, but that the recent steps in Slovenia closely follow it. He then called on all the people of the country to prevent this treachery, because the country cannot be represented by such people as Janez Drnovsek, who should have reacted strongly at the Slovene Assembly, and not have remained silent. His behavior, Sejdo Bajramovic said, was nothing short of treason.

Ratomir Maksimovic then read out a telegram to the country's leading organs. The telegram stated that the gathering had been called to raise its voice against such tendencies leading toward the destruction of Yugoslavia as the approval of the Slovene constitutional amendments, a step to which no citizen of our country can be indifferent. The telegram then stated that the citizens of Kosovo Polje are ready to fight such tendencies, with their lives, if necessary, because the views of such leaders as Kucan, Setinc, Mole, and Potrc, are separatism in its most extreme form. With their support for Albanian separatism at the Canker Hall and for Azem Vlsi, the telegram further stated, these leaders are seeking to conceal their true aims. However, unfortunately for them, they were completely unmasked when the exposure of separatism began. Their stubbornness in ignoring the highest party and state bodies in the country is incredible. The telegram also called on all progressive people in Slovenia to raise their voices in favor of Yugoslavia and to defend its integrity and the federal order.

The telegram concluded by expressing full support for the legal organs of the SFRY, the Presidency of the SFRY as a collective body and head of the state, the Federal Executive Council, the Constitutional Court, and all other relevant bodies in their struggle to prevent the separatist activities which have been imposed by force and are led by a group of Slovene leaders who have manipulated the Slovene people and are leading them into direct confrontation with the other fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia.

After the text had been approved, Rosa Labs mounted the rostrum, and demanded that the telegram should also include an urgent demand addressed to the SFRY Presidency and Presidium that Janez Drnovsek and Stefan Korosec should be dismissed from their posts at once, because, she said, "They do not belong to our state but to another state called Slovenia."

With this addition, the text was approved and the speakers were cheered. Insults directed at the leaders of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, were also heard.

Split SUBNOR Criticizes Amendments

LD0410063589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1219 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Excerpt] Split, 3 Oct (TANJUG)—The adoption of the amendments to the Constitution of the Slovenia Socialist Republic represents a one-sided act and the opening up of the crisis which, in an "asymmetrical" federation, is nothing other than the beginning of a confederation with a real possibility of the break-up of Yugoslavia. This assessment was made today at a session of the Presidium of the municipal committee of the Split SUBNOR [Federation of Veterans' Associations of Yugoslavia], devoted to the socio-political situation in the country. [passage omitted]

Slovene Youth Organization To Become Party

AU0410214089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] The congress of the Socialist Youth Federation of Slovenia has been scheduled a considerable time before the envisaged date so that the federation can be transformed and immediately registered as an independent party, which is necessary in order to be on time to catch the train of the electoral struggle for power. To this end, the leadership has prepared a proposal for the new statute and programmatic directives which the meeting in Portoroz should adopt from 3 to 5 November as a green light for future policy, based, as it was said at today's news conference in Ljubljana, on major results, but with one unrealized aim of de-politicizing the Army, police, state administration, and education. The Slovene leadership nevertheless wants to realize this aim. Relja Atanasijevic has the details:

It is not incidental that Joze Skolc and his colleagues considered it necessary at the news conference to first of all stress all of their victories. They said that they had started as a condemned, heretical minority which proposed the scrapping of the youth organization's relay race, the introduction of civilian-military service, the recognition of the right to strike, political pluralism, the creation of independent parties, free and secret elections, and many other things.

Joze Skolc announced that all of these proposals were realized and included in the amendments to the Slovene Constitution. As an incubator of ideas, the Slovene youth organization is now the leading organization on the political battlefield. Its theme and the general theme of the moment is that on the basis of the amendments, Yugoslavia will never again be what it once was.

There is something narcissistic in this bragging which produces the self-confidence of the Slovene youth leadership to hint that, counting on complete success at the forthcoming elections, its organization will be transformed and immediately registered as a totally independent and autonomous political and social party of law and order. As (Roman Ravtar) said, politically its characteristics are of significance for the struggle for power and socially for attracting voters to its program, regardless of their ideological beliefs.

Since this party aspires to take over the reins of power, added (Dejan Velcic), it wants to maintain the present youth membership and allies and to accept people of all ages into its ranks. We are sure, stressed (Velcic), that we are in a position to extricate the country from the crisis.

The leaders of the Slovene youth organization thought it necessary to repeat several times that their party [stranka] will not be an ideological party, but a programmatic one, and that it will not want pioneers to automatically enter its ranks when they reach a certain age. After Skolc said that the depoliticization of the Army, police,

state administration, and education remain the unrealized aims of the Slovene youth organization, I asked him whether it will continue to endeavor to realize the same wishes. He replied that this depoliticization must take place, especially if the pluralistic political arena is divided after the elections.

Considering that there are at the moment two currents in the Slovene youth organization, of which one is for a transformation into a party and the other for the status quo, Skolc said in reply to a journalist's question about the possible denouement of this problem that this question will most probably be cleared up at the congress itself in Portoroz.

Everything that was stated today by the Slovene republican youth leaders at the news conference in Ljubjana leads to the conclusion that they have set off for high politics and have decided to extinguish the youth organization in Slovenia and to leave the care of young people to, as they stated, a ministry for young people.

Suvar on Restrictions of State Socialism

LD2409211889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1840 GMT 24 Sep 89

[Text] Pula, Sept 24 (TANJUG)—State socialism, (?disguised in national) apparel and shut within republican and provincial borders, is most responsible for disintegration of Yugoslavia—Dr Stipe Suvar, member of the Yugoslav State Presidency, stated today.

Suvar, addressing a rally marking the 45th anniversary of the formation of the 43rd Istrian Division in Pula, called for the country's reintegration.

According to Suvar, Yugoslavia's integration is possible only by means of an alliance of productive forces based on a single market in a legal and democratic state which respects human rights and freedoms.

Suvar said it was necessary for Yugoslavia to square accounts with autarkic development and implement urgent political and economic reforms without (?allowing the) reforms to be reduced or bridled by some "created ideological interest."

Yugoslavia ought to accept and develop all the values of contemporary civilization and get itself included in the world economy's courses—Suvar concluded.

What is hiding behind the loud quarrels that shatter the country and behind the outbursts of passions and hatred in the name of defending the allegedly jeopardized national rights, there is a struggle for power and for the maintenance of status quo—Suvar maintained. Suvar ruled out the use of force aimed at settling the impaired interethnic and inter-republican relations. "No force may and will not arbitrate between our nations' equal rights," said he.

In a reference to the republic's charging one another with hegemony or separatism, Suvar underscored that neither can the republics be reduced to "local authorities" nor can the provinces' autonomy be abolished.

He underlined that each of the republics must at the same time be the national state of its majority nation as well as of all nations and nationalities living in it, and this had to be entered in its constitutions.

Suvar warned of the hysteria and incidents being provoked by nationalists and re-emerged supporters of the Quisling forces defeated during the war (Ustashas, Tchetniks, Balistas, White Guards). They are threatening all of us equally, Suvar said because their goal is the breaking up or re-shaping of Yugoslavia.

'There cannot and will not be any re-modeling of the borders within Yugoslavia and we can be calm because there is no one in sight who could threaten them from outside,' Suvar said.

In opposing leaderism, irrespective of whether it meant the resurrection of a new 'Serbian leader,' 'Croatian governor' or 'Slovenian father of the nation,' Suvar urged that the (?new constitution) should blaze the trail for a legal state and democracy as the best bulwark against new power-holders.

Suvar said that the presidency of Yugoslavia has recently been increasingly pressured to take a stand on internal conflicts, and to condemn certain phenomena or intervene in some parts.

He explained that the eight-member collective leadership 'does not resort to methods of pressure or dictate, and that it has not questioned and will not in any way question the sovereign rights of any of the republics.'

Suvar emphasized that it is the constitutional duty of the Yugoslav Presidency to ensure that the constitution is respected as the fundamental (?law) of the federation.